

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXIII, No. 5

Total Number 333

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Secret Sessions

AS A general rule the basic law of municipalities follows the provision of the *Model City Charter* that "All meetings of the [city] council shall be open to the public."

This is a sound, healthy command in a self-governing system like ours. But far too often in practice it is deliberately and designedly nullified by city councils and school boards. Legislative bodies have a strong tendency to treat it as just another one of those lovely democratic ideals to which we give lip service but which for "practical" reasons we choose to ignore.

Of course there are councils and school boards which genuinely desire to have citizens attend their meetings and which feel discouraged when they encounter popular indifference. Sometimes they make positive efforts to get taxpayers to come at least to budget hearings. There are mayors and councilmen who retire in despair for no other reason than the lack of citizen interest in what they are doing.

On the other hand, there are a great many councils, even in cities which are comparatively well run, which are so lacking in active appreciation of the fact that a "public office is a public trust" that in effect they post "keep out" signs. They habitually meet in "executive session" behind closed doors. Here they discuss problems and reach decisions. Then, with a slight nod in the general direction of the charter, they hold brief "open" sessions in which

they go through the motions of ratifying the decisions already reached.

Several years ago, when the civic-minded editor of a newspaper opposed this practice in his city, the city manager replied: "Why, that would be impossible! It would be like conducting the city's important business right out on the city hall steps." "And why not?" replied the editor.

Most councils and school boards which operate secretly do so from a desire to get work done rather than from a desire for concealment. They don't actually do anything which they wish to keep from the public. They say they can't be "natural" in a goldfish bowl. It never occurs to them that secret sessions invite an unhealthy attitude that the city's affairs are the private matter of those who succeeded in being elected and that they tend to discourage popular understanding and interest in civic matters.

It is from debate, discussion, and the clash of opinion that the voters learn about their problems and develop an ability to vote intelligently, not from formal ayes and nays.

In a self-governing system an informed and participating electorate is essential. One of the most serious handicaps to the development of a better citizenry is the comparative indifference of the voter toward municipal affairs. It is not at all unusual for less than 30 per cent of a city's

voters to vote in a municipal election. The same voters who turn out in great force for national and state elections, the results of which are less influenced by them as individuals, remain largely unaware of the fact that what happens locally determines in the aggregate what happens nationally. Orchids don't grow on

cabbage roots—economically, politically, or socially.

The city's business **SHOULD** be conducted "on the city hall steps." As a people we need desperately to gain a greater understanding of our responsibility as citizens. Conducting the public's business in a vacuum is no help.

Common Sense Lawmaking

A CURRENT demonstration of common sense by the lower house of the Minnesota legislature is worth observation and study by the legislatures of most of our states which are still attempting to cope with complex modern problems by routines which have been changed little for a century or more.

After voting twice to establish a legislative council as a means of overcoming the weaknesses and confusions of the legislative process, but failing to gain the acquiescence of the Senate, the Minnesota House has simply created an interim committee¹ of its own with a competent research staff to remove the guesswork, bunk, and bad habits from lawmaking.

The legislative council, as proposed in the *Model State Constitution* since 1933, is composed of members of both houses and has a staff of its own to provide adequate information about measures under consideration.

The legislative council is no longer an experimental "reform." It has demonstrated in those states which

have used it, especially in those which have provided adequate funds for the purpose, that it makes legislation a continuous, orderly process, promotes the development of sound legislative programs and leadership free from administrative domination, reduces the number of bills, eliminates the disgraceful end-of-the-session legislative jam, minimizes acrimonious bickering between the houses and with the executive, diminishes party rivalries, improves the quality of debate, and emancipates the lawmakers from blind acquiescence to administrative leadership, the dictatorship of pressure groups, and the influence of lobbyists. Most important of all its attributes is its promise of restoring public confidence and respect for our legislatures.

Recently, after the New York legislature had stopped the clock to rush through an avalanche of bills during the last days before adjournment, the Albany *Knickerbocker Press* suggested forcefully it was high time to give serious consideration to a legislative council. The *Press* pointed out that such a council's technical staff could do the work, and probably do it better, of the

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¹See "Minnesota Interim Committee a Legislative Committee in Embryo," by Lloyd M. Short, p. 251, this issue.

Dayton Counts Its Blessings

Thirty years of council-manager government finds Ohio city well satisfied with an "experiment that succeeded"; but sentiment grows for more positive approach to postwar needs.

By MAX P. HEAVENRICH, JR., Manager
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WHEN the Mayor's gavel rapped for order on the first Wednesday in January, Dayton's city manager and councilmen were beginning the 1,561st regular session of the Dayton City Commission (Council) since the inauguration of council-manager government in 1914. Except for the complimentary remarks made to the Commission by one of the two citizens attending, a former mayor, and for the newspaper photographs of two commissioners being sworn into office for a new term, the event and the day were unmarked.

Dayton was passing another milestone in its claim to being one of the cities served longest by "real" council-manager government. It is part of the civic pride of Daytonians that their government, like other institutions, was an experiment that succeeded. They still think, to a degree, in terms of what preceded it in 1913 when political organizations vied for control of the "federal" system offices, most of which were elective and uncoordinated.

In point of time Daytonians count their blessings, including government, from the days of the flood which in March 1913 devastated a considerable portion of the city. It was during the flood that the old administration proved inadequate to meet the emergencies and the new leadership,

spearheaded by a philanthropic industrialist, came forward. It was also from the flood that Daytonians discovered their community of interest could accomplish rapid and worthwhile changes; for out of such a community of interest grew the Miami Valley Conservancy, today supported by tax levies against the city of Dayton, the residents of the county, and the area served by the Conservancy District. The series of dams built by the district have prevented any possible repetition of the disaster.

Eighteen years before the flood there was talk of creating an administration of men "skilled in business management." But it was not until the reform movement swept through the Ohio legislature in 1912 that the foundations for Dayton's thirty years record were to be laid. In that year the legislature added a home rule amendment to the state constitution and in Dayton civic and industrial leaders created the Bureau of Municipal Research.

The latter under Lent D. Upson, awake to its opportunities, left the weak administration with no bed sheets to hide under. It set a pattern of exposure which municipal research bureaus were to follow for many years. The resulting charter commission, its deliberations, and the vote to adopt the manager plan, 13,-

217 to 6,122, followed the usual pattern.

Several times since unsuccessful efforts have been made to drop the manager system. Today there is still opposition to individuals within the government, but by and large the manager plan is accepted as the most feasible for all municipal purposes. At least one effort has been made to extend it to the county under the assumption that it might solve the problems of that unit, to which Dayton taxpayers contribute 78 per cent of its tax income.

In thirty years Dayton grew from a city of 125,000 to one of 211,000. It grew from an area of sixteen square miles to twenty-four by natural absorption of periphery areas. In 1944 it still had not absorbed wealthy Oakwood, its satellite residential community, because of opposition of Oakwood residents though most of them worked and played in Dayton. The number of water meters being used grew from 29,000 to 70,000. The number of city employees increased from 900 to 1,600. The 200 miles of sewers are now 571.

Others have told the story of Dayton well.¹ But some of it bears repetition. The first annual report of the city manager—the twenty-ninth consecutive successor of which was in the hands of hundreds of interested persons throughout the United States three days after the end of the fiscal

year 1943—proudly pointed out that ash and rubbish removal had been re-established as a city service on regular schedule after several years of interim service or no service at all. The report pointed to the dollars saved by centralized purchasing, to the modernized bookkeeping methods, to the long needed street repairs then being made, to the new health service, to the placing of the park employees under civil service provisions, and to many other changes brought by the new form of government. Motor driven apparatus was being acquired to replace old horse-drawn vehicles. A garage supervisor went to a fire-equipment factory to learn how to maintain fire equipment. Other officials traveled to other cities to learn new methods. A municipal exhibit was held. Specialists were being employed when particular problems required surveys.

Planning Began Early

The recitation of the growth of services which Dayton pioneered or adopted during its early years becomes unnecessary in the light of present day acceptance of certain basic essentials to good government. But it is interesting to note that recreational facilities were deemed important thirty years ago as well as now; and to learn that juvenile delinquency was being fought then, as now, with curfews, recreational attractions, and detention homes.

Community planning, essentially physical planning, was begun long before World War I although many of the improvements hoped for remain for accomplishment after the

¹See "Dayton's Sixteen Years of City Manager Government," by Arch Mandel and Wilbur M. Cotton, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Supplement, July 1930; also, "City Manager Government in Dayton," by Landrum R. Bolling, *Public Administration Service, Chicago*, 1940.

current struggle. Modern office methods of 1914 have been progressively revised; and today Dayton is keeping most of its records on highly complicated but efficient office machines. Types of equipment have changed, been refined, or replaced; but Dayton has never hesitated to try the new, testing its efficiency by actual use.

Finance Difficulties

Probably the most consistent problem of the city throughout the thirty years has been its ceaseless effort to escape the financial difficulties which beset Ohio cities. As early as 1919, after two years of city operating deficits, public administrators were complaining of the rising wage and material costs as they watched revenues decline. Looking to the state legislature for assistance, the manager declared: "The throttling of the cities by the rural elements of the legislature must sooner or later cease or municipalities will be in grave peril. Cities of Ohio have home rule in name only. They have now no voice in the tax valuation of property within the city, in fixing the tax rate, or in the portion of the tax rate which the municipality is to receive." Today city officials still look to Columbus for assistance in the solution of the same problem, although few honestly expect relief from that source.

During the difficult thirties, with unemployment great everywhere, the city of Dayton saw its tax collections dwindle to two-thirds their normal size. They appealed to Columbus and to the federal government for assistance. The former did give consider-

able help; and the latter through WPA assisted the city in carrying on widespread public works improvements. In the words of one official, "They were extremely good to us, and we made the most of the dollars available."

It was in the middle of the last decade that the sales tax came into existence in Ohio to help offset the new ten-mill tax limitation which had been promoted by interests particularly affected and adopted through the activity of rural legislators. Had the distribution of the sales tax to local governments been complete, the decline in local tax revenues forced by the limitation would have been much more than offset. But the amount distributed to local governments has been limited by legislative act, thus directing a considerable excess into the state's reserve. Whether this reserve will eventually reach local units from which it was collected remains to be determined.

With the thirties past, delinquent taxes began to be repaid, and as the present war approached economic conditions in the community helped expand the city's income to meet the increased needs of the moment. But when war broke Dayton's metropolitan population swelled more than thirty thousand in a few years, the military expanded its interests at Wright Field, and the problems returned.

Against industrial and federal drains on personnel at higher compensations, the city could not compete. Adjustments became necessary to keep even rudimentary services operating. In three years wages paid

certain groups of service department employees almost doubled. As a result revenues again appeared to fall short, and administrators looked to the legislature and governor, giving voice to the complaint that the state was not returning equitable amounts of the sales tax.

Complementing the problem of a relatively fixed income against rising costs, the city began to lose increasing numbers of persons to the armed forces. As a result services began to slip, performance fell below pre-war standards. But in spite of all difficulties the city maintained a relatively high level of service. Part of this became possible through Lanham Act funds used to supplement Fire and Police Department funds and part through the long-developed ability of city officials to meet emergency adjustments as they occurred. Today, however, city officials are the first to admit that services are not being rendered in the manner they would like. Postwar improvements are promised if financial limitations can be overcome.

In spite of difficulties the city is spending for general operating purposes approximately 10 per cent more than it did in the standard year, 1926, as a result of the income from sales taxes, delinquent taxes, and increased miscellaneous receipts. Approximately two and a half million dollars will be spent for general government in 1944. Revenues have increased half a million dollars since the depth of the depression in 1932.

From 1914 to 1931 the city's debt was more than tripled as the physical pattern of the community de-

veloped. It paralleled the growth of the assessed valuation of the community, however, which almost tripled during the same period. Since 1931 the debt has declined steadily and rapidly so the current net debt slightly in excess of four million dollars on a valuation of approximately \$340,000,000 promises a postwar leeway for capital improvement bonds, if necessary. The currently high credit rating of the city, comparable to other leading cities in the nation, is direct tribute to the debt policies of the administration in recent years, as well as to the caution of the citizens in refusing almost annual requests of the city administration for additional tax levies for operating purposes. With but few exceptions city requests have been declined although the school district encompassing Dayton has been successful in getting extra levies on many occasions.

Tax Rate Low

The average citizen still looks upon the tax rate as a key to the success of his government. Annually, with the appearance of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW report on comparative tax rates, Dayton citizens are reminded that their tax rate is lower than that of many cities, although higher than many in Ohio. During the last twelve years prior to manager government the tax rate averaged slightly less than \$25 per thousand dollars of valuation. The comparable first twelve years of manager government produced an average rate of \$21.05. The valuation of the city, however, more than doubled during

the period offsetting any advantages accrued because of a lower tax rate.

At no time since the inception of manager government has the tax rate—city, county, and school—exceeded \$29.60 per thousand dollars of valuation; the average rate for the full thirty years has been \$21.97 per thousand. Since the ten-mill limitation dropped the total rate from \$25.20 to \$20.20 in 1935, anything over \$22 per thousand is a high rate to Dayton citizens. Currently, the local governments are collecting \$21.20 per thousand dollars of valuation. But of this total only \$3.21 goes to the city government for operating, \$2.06 for bonds and interest, and \$.60 for police and fire pensions. In addition \$2.34 of the city's share is paid to the Miami Conservancy District. The county and the Dayton school district, both distinct corporations, get \$4.19 and \$8.20 respectively.

Stable Personnel

What appears to have been a relatively stable condition administratively and financially throughout thirty years is equally true of personnel. The City Commission, composed of five members chosen at large, serving overlapping four-year terms, has had but 25 members. No woman has yet successfully won a seat on the Commission although a few have tried. One commissioner served thirteen years and the present mayor is entering on his eleventh year as a commissioner. Nine others have served eight years. Among administrative officials there are many who remember the early days of manager government; and more than a

few recall the government preceding it. All present department heads have come up through the service. The finance director entered his present position in 1926.

The success of Dayton is often attributed to the continuity of legislative policy which resulted from the stability of the Commission membership. It is also true, however, that there has been a happy coincidence of the right personality in the managership during periods requiring particular abilities to meet special situations.

Henry M. Waite, now with the Bureau of the Budget in Washington, was Dayton's first manager. His vigorous, forthright, and hardworking methods focused attention and support to a program designed to establish the character of the government for thirty years. Twenty-six years after Mr. Waite left Dayton to enter military service he is remembered by many as the assertive administrator most responsible for the high standards of government since followed.

Mr. Waite was followed in rapid order by two men who under normal circumstances would have been more successful. But both encountered fiscal difficulties rising during the last war, and suffered by contrast to Mr. Waite. In August 1921 Fred O. Eichelberger, who had already served since 1906 as transit man, engineer, city engineer, and service director, succeeded to the post of manager. It was the moment when Dayton was about to enter upon its most rapid and far-reaching public works improvement program. His knowledge

of the city's facilities, of his fellow citizens, and his personal desire to accomplish things quietly made the combination necessary to success.

Today Mr. Eichelberger continues on his methodical way. He has lacked the glamour associated with Mr. Waite but he has accomplished many of the improvements he visualized twenty years ago; and he has won the personal loyalty of many citizens. No one in 23 years of service could escape being the target for some criticism, but Mr. Eichelberger has survived and grown in the esteem of even those who earlier opposed him. He has remained as city manager long after the names of many commissioners are forgotten. Throughout, he has consistently followed a pattern of proposing policies, administering those approved, and opposing unwise suggestions. The right of final decision, he has always remembered, rests with the City Commission.

Positive Action Asked

There are persons in Dayton today who believe change in the city stewardship is necessary. Movements in that direction have been made, believing as they do that a new manager and new commission might bring new imagination to the community; but no official action has ever been undertaken on the floor of the Commission to remove the manager. If such action were taken the manager's friends would be quick to rally to him.

An increasingly critical attitude toward the administration has appeared in the press which for thirty years, almost without exception, has given the city government the most excel-

lent coverage possible. Part of this support came from an early understanding which gave the press representatives access to all meetings, although publication of confidential matters was restricted. But in recent months criticism of the vacillation of the Commission on some matters has been pointed. Yet no administration could expect greater service than the present one receives.

The uniformly low percentage of citizens participating in municipal elections in Dayton, rarely more than 25 per cent of the electorate, is proof of the lack of exciting municipal issues. The almost universal absence of citizen visitors to the city building during working hours and their equally great absence from Commission meetings is interpreted by city officials as silent proof of satisfaction. Occasionally, neighborhood civics groups do appear to plead for special services, transportation facilities, or against legislation such as a "black-market" ordinance recently proposed. The schools send civics classes to listen to their government at work. But with most issues settled in conferences which precede Commission meetings, the routine order of business attracts little attention.

Some in the community believe there is dissatisfaction with the government which may grow to effective proportions soon after the war. They believe the city administration lacks a positive program of action, particularly as to finance and the development of postwar programs. To silence such groups the city recently released to the press a long list of unfinished

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Election Frauds Go Unchecked

Philadelphia politicians abandon old-time violence in favor of chicanery; learn how to circumvent permanent registration with which reformers sought to thwart them.

By WILLIAM BARCLAY LEX

*Chairman of the Subcommittee on Elections,
Philadelphia Committee of Seventy*

WHILE the winning of elections in Philadelphia by "rough-house" tactics, as typified by the days of the "Bloody Fifth" Ward, is passing from the scene, the change unfortunately appears to be one of method only. Chicanery has supplanted violence. Under the guise of apparent obedience to the laws the machine politicians continue their way as before. It is another illustration that law enforcement can rise no higher than public morality.

As long as fraudulent voting exists in any appreciable degree to offset votes honestly cast, there can be little hope of electing representative public officials. This illegal voting does not exist because of our laws or lack of them but because of laxity in enforcing the existing election and permanent registration acts designed to assure honest elections.

The ability of a dishonest politician in Philadelphia to cast a fraudulent vote is dependent upon three things: inefficient operation of the permanent registration system, the indifference or dishonesty of election officials, and lack of public interest. Under the permanent registration act of 1937 each voter must fill out and sign a registration affidavit, one copy of which is placed in a book known as a division binder. This binder contains the affidavits of all registered electors in the same election

division and is kept alphabetically. The binders are delivered to the polling place for each election and the eligibility of persons applying to vote is ascertained by comparing the signature of the voter made at the polls with the signature on his card in the division binder.

It is the duty of the Registration Commission to remove from the voting binders the cards of all persons not qualified to vote; to conduct periodic checkups, by personal visits and postal card inquiries, to ascertain whether or not a voter still resides at a given address; to maintain the accuracy of the lists by noting deaths reported by the Bureau of Vital Statistics and lapses of registration occasioned by not voting at least once in two years. Counsel for the Registration Commissioners admitted in our Supreme Court just a year ago that there were 100,000 names on the registration lists which should not be there. If the Registration Commission is nonpartisan and functions efficiently and honestly, the affidavits of those who have moved, died, or allowed their registration to lapse are discarded. But if these cards remain in the binder it opens the way to the casting of fraudulent votes.

The party workers in Philadelphia know exactly which voters have died, which ones have moved, and which ones aren't likely to vote, and with

the connivance of the election board can vote these "extras" which remain illegally in the binder. Since in most instances the election boards in Philadelphia are actually part of the political machine or simply well meaning but careless "good" citizens, this is easily done.

Identification Provided

Each person must qualify before the election board of his or her division by signing a voter's certificate which, as already explained, is compared with his registration affidavit in the division binder at the time of voting. If one or more members of the election board are corrupt or careless and approve voters' certificates even when they know them to be obviously falsified, it takes little imagination to see that the number of fraudulent votes which could be cast is limited only by the number of registration cards which remain illegally in the binder. Sometimes the "boys" who cast the fraudulent votes get confused and even put in an extra one for a person who has already voted.

While this type of illegal voting can be detected by comparison of the voters' certificates with the registration affidavits, and this is the duty of the Registration Commission, in many cases the Commission has neglected to do so. This comparison has been done, however, by the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy—to the extent permitted by its limited staff and budget—as part of its regular work in safeguarding the ballot, with the resultant prosecution of many individuals.

Although efforts of the Committee have been confined to a small percentage of the voting districts, it has uncovered fraudulent voting in many divisions. In one of the 1,335 polling places in Philadelphia 295 fraudulent votes were cast. This particular fraud was made possible by the neglect of the election board—which was not composed of professional politicians but of average representative citizens of good repute in the community. This is no doubt an extreme case, but the Committee's investigations lead to the inevitable conclusion that thousands of improper votes are cast in each primary and general election.

Close Elections Affected

The first reaction of many people is that the number of fraudulent votes cast would have little effect on the results of an election in which 600,000 to 700,000 votes are cast. This is definitely not true. In recent years elections in Philadelphia have been won or lost by surprisingly close margins. If an average of only ten fraudulent votes were cast in each of our 1,335 divisions, these votes would total 13,350. A state senator recently won by a majority of two votes, a city commissioner by a majority of 60 votes. One councilman was elected by a majority of fifteen votes while another was considered elected by two votes until the ballots for an entire division were thrown out as void and he was defeated by 40 votes. In 1942 Governor Martin carried the city of Philadelphia by only 154 votes.

The fact that these men were

elected by such close margins is, in itself, not indicative of fraud or conspiracy. But it does highlight the existence of a dangerous possibility that a few well placed fraudulent votes can change the entire result of an election.

In Philadelphia the voting machine is in general use, but eleven of the 52 wards still vote by paper ballot. Aside from the waste, inaccuracy, and inefficiency of this method (for the last election it took one week to count the vote in 41 machine wards and three weeks to count the vote in eleven paper ballot wards) it leaves the door wide open for wholesale fraud.

Fraud can be committed positively by the casting of extra ballots or by adding a few votes to the total on the return sheet; or it can be committed negatively, for example, by purposely leaving the stub on the ballot so it will become invalid since it is identifiable, or by adding additional marks to otherwise valid ballots. Thus, in the last election, whether through ignorance or intent, the stubs were left on all but one of the ballots cast in a certain division. As a result of these void ballots the division, which was normally Democratic, elected a Republican election board by one vote, that of the only good ballot in the division.

The corrupt politician, the conspiring election board, and the inefficient handling of registration records could not exist if the public demanded otherwise. But the public has not done so. If it has not been "corrupt"

it has at least been "content"—content to pay the bills and have the payrolls of the County Board of Elections and the Registration Commission loaded with the workers of the political machine. The "good" citizens fail to vote because they say, "Well, the politicians run the election anyway." Their absence from the polls contributes largely to control by the politicians.

Education of the public is the absolute panacea for these conditions, but this is a long, slow road. Through education the people must be shown existing evils, the importance of self-government, and the responsibility it demands from the individual.

Yes, we still have corrupt elections in Philadelphia, but there is no reason to suppose the general picture is different in other large cities or that the public conscience is lower in our city than elsewhere.

EDITORIALS

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many investigating committees and commissions which the legislature always has in operation.

This is just one of many indications of an increasing tendency to scrutinize governmental functions to cure bad habits and wasteful practices which do so much to weaken the democratic processes and, which is much worse, destroy the people's confidence in them. It is probable that this trend will be greatly accelerated after the war. It was after World War I.

Early Fiscal Plans Bear Fruit

Massachusetts' efforts for two generations to strengthen local financial administration and share state-collected revenues brightens postwar picture for cities and towns.

By THOMAS L. HINCKLEY

Division of Municipal Accounts

Massachusetts Department of Corporations and Taxation

FOR the first time in many years the majority of American municipalities are admitting that they are in good shape financially. Whether the taxpayer receives his benefit at once in lower taxes or whether his local authorities decide to postpone tax reductions and set something aside for the inevitable "rainy day" of postwar readjustment he will in either case profit from the situation.

In Massachusetts municipal improvement has been most pronounced in regard to tax collections, debt reduction, debt service charges, temporary borrowing, and surplus revenue; tax rates and per capita taxes show reductions but in smaller ratio.

The conclusion seems to be that so far as the average Massachusetts citizen is concerned there has recently been a small though favorable change in his annual tax bill for local governmental service; so far as the corporate status of these governmental units is concerned there has, however, been a marked gain in respect to those factors which measure the character of financial administration.

While wartime restrictions have unquestionably made the task of financial rehabilitation much easier for Massachusetts cities and towns—as for municipalities in general—there are in the writer's opinion at

least two outstanding reasons why these communities have as a whole been able to respond so promptly to the present situation. One is the long-standing practice of sharing state-collected revenue with municipalities and the other is the continuous and constructive efforts, extending over many years, which state authorities have made to strengthen and improve local financial administration.¹

The partial distribution of state-collected revenues to its cities and towns has been a permanent feature of the state's financial policy for more than two generations. Since 1917 net state contributions to local treasuries—exclusive of federal grants and deducting the annual "state tax" or ad valorem levy assessed on cities and towns to cover deficits in the state budget—have amounted to not less than 10 per cent of all municipal receipts and have frequently amounted to about 15 per cent of these receipts. Granting that all public revenues are taken from the peo-

¹A third factor might also be mentioned—the continuity in office for over twenty years of both the state's tax commissioner, Mr. Henry F. Long, and its director of municipal accounts, Mr. Theodore N. Waddell; this has made possible the maintenance of a consistent and coördinated plan as regards local finances in spite of sharp differences in political programs.

ple of the state in one form or another it still remains true that the methods used in apportioning them as between different levels of government is an important element in financial well-being.

Beginning in 1864 with the distribution of taxes on corporations according to the residence of stock owners, the list of state contributions now includes receipts from business and certain public utility corporations together with large shares of income, alcoholic beverage, and meals (old-age assistance) taxes. In addition certain miscellaneous revenues such as those from racing meets are available to cities and towns. Large payments are also made each year in the form of grants-in-aid, subsidies, and reimbursements for educational and social welfare purposes. In critical years the state has also made special distributions to municipalities—principally from its highway fund—and has made special loans to them both for relief and in consideration of the amount of tax titles in their possession, with the result that since 1935 Massachusetts cities and towns taken as a whole have been “out of the red” from the standpoint of cash transactions.

The effect of the commonwealth's liberal policy towards its municipalities has been to provide them with a “cushion” which has enabled them to absorb drastic losses in property taxes without too disastrous results; also, when revenue receipts have exceeded payments—as they did during 1920-30 and as they do at the present time—the availability of sub-

stantial state aid has encouraged decreases in local tax rates which might otherwise not have been made. In the past year, for example, more than two-thirds of the cities and towns in Massachusetts have reduced their local tax rates. More would have done so had it not been for pressure exerted upon them to make some sort of preparation for post-war contingencies.

Efforts of State Authorities

In Massachusetts contact between state and local authorities is much more direct than in many sections of the country because of the limited powers of counties. Such functions as the equalization of local assessments and the supervision of local departmental activities are, to the extent that they are authorized by law, performed in Massachusetts by state instead of by county authorities. Many state agencies, therefore, are in constant touch with local officers and are in a position to influence their activities. This is especially true of the Division of Accounts which through its director, under the general authority of the state's tax commissioner, is most closely concerned with the administration of local finances.

Ever since 1906 the state government has under varying titles maintained an office having as its objective the improvement of those aspects of local government which are amenable to state authority. In practice this has consisted of direct technical assistance to local financial officers, supervision of their accounting and reporting methods, and finally the initiation of legislation de-

signed to prevent the financial breakdowns which are to be expected in the absence of adequate controls.

Beginning in 1906 and continuing without interruption until the present day there has been an annual compilation of municipal financial statistics based upon a standard functional classification. It is not too much to say that the availability of this long series of comparable statistics has been of immense value not only to state and local authorities in Massachusetts but also to public officials and investigators in general.

In 1910 legislation was secured authorizing the auditing of municipal accounts and the installation in cities and towns of a uniform accounting system. At first these services were offered on a voluntary basis but in 1920 the periodic auditing of municipal accounts was made compulsory—except for the city of Boston which was not included until 1939. At the present time two-thirds of the municipalities of the state keep their books according to the uniform system.

In 1911 the certification of the notes of towns and, later, of fire, water, and lighting districts was assumed by the state, removing a common source of embarrassment to municipalities and investors alike.

It was found necessary soon after the establishment of the office of municipal statistics to supplement the installation of improved reporting and accounting methods with additional legislation as many of the former defects in local financial practice still persisted. In 1913, therefore, a comprehensive "reform bill"

on municipal finance, consisting of several separate measures, was passed; these statutes, with minor changes during subsequent years, have remained the foundation upon which the stable financial structure of today has been erected.

The 1913 statutes were directed principally towards municipal indebtedness as being at once the most vulnerable sector of local finance and lying well within the area of state regulation. They provided among other things for the abolition of sinking funds and the adoption of the serial method of debt redemption; in the case of serial issues they provided that annual payments should begin in the year following the issue and that such payments should in any one year be not less than the amount payable in any succeeding year. The new laws also prohibited the further refunding of bonded debt, the issuance of "demand" notes, and the use of trust funds for current purposes.

Further Checks Provided

In 1923 another check upon unwise borrowing was established by requiring municipalities when issuing bonds to appropriate from available funds or to raise by taxation in the year of issue a sum equal to 25 cents (in Boston ten cents) per \$1,000 valuation as a condition precedent to the loan. While by no means a drastic provision the required sums, as they apply to each bond issue separately, soon attain considerable size in the case of the larger cities where they compel the adoption of a "pay-as-you-go" basis for all but major capital requirements.

Statutory debt limits, established in 1875 for towns and in 1885 for cities, have not been affected by any of these changes. They remain at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for cities and 3 per cent for towns. Indebtedness for municipal enterprises and for a number of specified purposes, however, is permitted outside of these limits so that the actual debt, while never excessive, is frequently greater than these percentages would imply.

There are, of course, many other safeguards surrounding the use of municipal funds in Massachusetts. The measures just outlined, however, are of interest as indicating what the typical financial problems of local communities in this state have been and how they have been handled; they may seem unexceptional today but when adopted were well in advance of prevailing practice. The effectiveness of these controls was amply demonstrated during the disturbances caused by the first World War and during the succeeding periods of expansion and depression. Their influence still continues; at the close of the past year, for example, the total net debt of the cities and towns of the state taken as a whole had receded to levels not seen since the early twenties and the prospects are that this trend will continue "for the duration."

As further evidence of financial strength may be cited the accumulation by cities and towns of many millions of cash reserves during the past two years.

The chief characteristic of the method of approach to the financial problems of Massachusetts munici-

palities as outlined above seems to be its flexibility. Such general restrictions as have been imposed are mainly corrective; limitations on indebtedness, while severe as regards tax-supported debt, are elastic when it comes to borrowing for revenue-producing utilities; the amount of state contributions can, within limits, be increased or reduced as circumstances dictate; local communities are free to accept or not, as they please, many of the regulative acts.

Postwar Aspects

Whether existing controls can be made to serve without change during the approaching period of postwar readjustment is of course a matter of opinion but the evidence of the previous postwar decade is reassuring. In 1920-30 municipal maintenance costs in Massachusetts rose 64 per cent and the volume of outlays for public improvements doubled; however, thanks to rising property values and higher individual incomes no essential changes except the 1923 provisions relative to serial bonds were found necessary.

At the present time, with many of the inflationary factors of the earlier period again active—abnormal salary, wage, and price levels, deferred maintenance requirements, growing pressures for new capital expenditures, etc.—another upward surge of municipal budgets appears certain. In this event the familiar problems of local finance are bound to reappear—especially that of indebtedness.

In providing new or additional funds for its municipalities Massachusetts, like other states, will be

handicapped by a contracting area of potential sources of revenue; it will also risk the application of the law of diminishing returns to its own revenues. The proper allocation of all available sources of income as between federal, state, and local governments would seem to be almost a "condition precedent" for final solution of this problem but as it is highly charged with "politics" prospects of early agreement are not encouraging.

If both local resources and state assistance fail to hold increased costs within reasonable limits the burden of municipal inflation will fall on the local property taxpayer, who already pays more than three-fourths of all taxes levied in Massachusetts. It is true that the general public in this state is much more tax-conscious now than it was twenty years ago because of activities of taxpayers' associations in some 187 cities and towns; but how effectively these organizations will be able to curb the more ambitious programs of postwar planners remains to be seen.

The one sure way to reduce municipal costs is to stop spending—a fact which the depression and the experiences of the past two years have brought home to the average citizen. While no one would wish to carry this principle to extremes there is often a considerable margin between what is essential and what is merely desirable in a municipal spending program—whether for current expenses or for long term purposes. If the local taxpayer is able to assert his point of view effectively he may prove to be a deciding factor in post-war municipal finance.

DAYTON

(Continued from page 225)

projects, costing approximately sixty-three million dollars, which included housing programs, a water-softening plant, completion of the railroad track elevation started before the war, a series of freeways and highways planned many years ago, recreational facilities, and many other projects. But with the release of this list, most of which has been only roughly blueprinted, the city reported that its accomplishment depended on the extent to which federal state, and local funds would be available.

There is a growing conviction in the community that a more forthright approach to local problems must be developed; there is talk of Dayton merely as the center of an area about which all plans for the future need be developed, that all units of government should be included. There is a desire to silence administration spokesmen who complain of the failures of the state or federal governments to share with the cities. Leaders in private industry and business are convinced a definite program, intelligibly and honestly presented, will lead the citizens to vote more taxes in the near future. They believe that the spirit existing in 1914 still exists. The problems of finance, of population movements to the surrounding county, of housing, recreation, and re-employment can be met. They hope the administration, looking forward to the future rather than backward to the flood, is going to be ready to make the most of the spontaneous desire of Dayton citizens to help themselves.

Wanted: New Type Politician

We (the Athenians) are the only people to regard the man who takes no interest in politics, not as careless, but as useless. Pericles.

By WILLIAM E. MOSHER
Syracuse University

THE American educational system both on the secondary school and academic levels has as a major, if not the major, objective the training of young people to live and participate in democracy, i.e., to be good citizens. Thomas Jefferson insisted on a free public school system on the ground that self-government called for an intelligent citizenry. In the charter of many a college are found references to the importance of training young people for the responsibilities of citizenship.

Despite the theoretical dedication of the whole educational system to the advancement of democratic interests and the untiring efforts of school and academic orators to plant the seed of good citizenship in the minds of their audiences, young people conclude their schooling without any clear-cut mandate and indeed with almost no impulse or attitude that would prompt them to do anything specific about democracy or citizenship.

In support of this observation one might cite the replies to a question recently submitted to 2,006 students in the seventh to twelfth grades in a sample of forty selected high schools. The students were asked to give a brief definition of democracy. In their replies 63 per cent referred exclusively to rights and privileges, while only about a fourth, 27 per cent, made some passing or extensive reference to duties and responsibilities. Had

these young seniors never heard that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"; that in its essence democracy means partnership in public affairs, an active participating; that representative self-government means having informed opinions on public affairs and seeing to it that representatives are capable and really representative?

As one surveys the political scene in almost any area of the country and in almost any jurisdiction, he will find political apathy as the most common characteristic of the voters. In the 1942 Congressional election, for example, only 56 per cent of the voters the country over were sufficiently interested to cast a ballot for local congressional candidates, despite the fact that this Congress would be called upon to make many decisions which vitally affect the conduct of the war and may well influence the character of the peace to be.

This indifference to public affairs is, unfortunately, not confined to the less educated. It is prevalent to a deplorable degree among the better educated of our citizens and in large part explains the election to public office of relatively inferior men and women. The quality of representative bodies cannot be expected to be of the best in a country in which practical politics are a matter of indifference to the rank and file of the educated and well situated citi-

zens and where the genus politician is looked at askance. Among the democracies with which we would compare our own there is none in which the term politician carries such uncomplimentary connotations as with us. Just recently a prominent politician, whose efforts are devoted to furthering the public interest, stated that his family's social standing would be most adversely affected if it were not for his reputation in his professional calling.

Voters Apathetic

The end result of the formal education and the family and social conditioning of the typical American youth is an attitude of aloofness toward politicians and political parties. The youth is father to the man. No more than his elders does he appreciate that the political indifference of the rank and file of the more intelligent citizenry results in a choice of candidates on election day that is no better than a beggar's choice. All too often it is a case of Tweedledum vs. Tweedledee.

But how many of such discontented voters ever have done anything about the recurrence of such a choice? Perhaps better, how many of them know how they could do anything about it? The fact of the matter is that these good and upright citizens fail to see that the parties are at the base of the whole governmental structure, its policies, and administration, and that the character of the parties is determined by the precinct committeemen who are selected at the local primaries.

From the point of view of self-government the statistics on voting at primary elections are highly disheart-

ening. Only rarely do more than one-third of the voters take the trouble to cast a ballot and most of those who do have an axe to grind. In a sample taken several years ago, in eight of seventeen New York cities, only 6 per cent to 20 per cent of the registered voters participated in the primary election. This means that the party leaders have had a free hand in picking their docile followers, thereby making the latter responsible only to themselves and permitting them to write their own ticket in respect to both candidates and platform.

Convinced as to the importance of precinct committeemen in the governmental hierarchy, the writer made an investigation several years ago of the character of these party officials in a fair sample of cities in New York State. Character was defined in terms of schooling and calling. Four thousand cases were covered. The summaries showed that 55 per cent had not gone beyond the grammar school; 33 per cent had gone to high school; and 12 per cent to college at least for one year. Of the latter group, it may be noted that one-half were lawyers, some of whom at least were in politics for business purposes. On the vocational side, 60 per cent of the precinct committeemen belonged to skilled or unskilled labor classes while 19 per cent were on the public payrolls. It may be concluded that a good majority of these four thousand committeemen were not likely to take a broad and independent view of party policies, while they were more than likely to hear their master's voice at every turn of the road. It is by such means that boss control is established and maintained.

It has been commonly held that politicians are not interested in progressive policies and competent management of public affairs and that they are constitutionally opposed to change of any sort. The unbusiness-like and obsolete character of county government throughout the country bears witness to these attitudes. Furthermore, it must be remembered that party leaders do not confine their attention to party activities in the narrow sense of the term. They continuously exert influence on legislation, administrative policies and practices, and appointments up and down the line. To use Elihu Root's phrase, they constitute "the invisible government," just as they did at the time of the New York State Constitutional Convention when Mr. Root coined the phrase.

A Crucial Time

Apart from certain bright spots on the political map we are defaulting in self-government. In theory we enjoy self-government and, occasionally when abuses become intolerable, we launch a reform wave and have it in fact. But generally reform waves prove to be rather short-lived affairs. Now that government has assumed the central role in our national and local housekeeping the problem of self-government ceases to be one of merely academic importance or one that can properly be turned over to starry-eyed reformers. It is a crucial affair for all of us, not on the ground of civic responsibility, but of very real self-interest. It is particularly crucial for educators whose assignment is to lay the groundwork for attitudes and interests of the youth who will soon take over the leader-

ship in the social and political scene.

No more pressing challenge confronts us than this: Can we educate and stimulate the oncoming generations of students to appreciate that democracy is worth fighting for when challenged from without, but also worth sacrificing for when challenged from within. Democracy, like other values, has to be won and won again if it is to endure. To inherit it is not enough. As Goethe put it, "What we inherit, we do not own, we simply possess." We in this generation, as our forebears in preceding generations, have possessed democracy but have done little to make it our own and preserve it intact.

The question that in the long run may well overtop all others is whether the average citizen can be made an active, participating democrat, willing to identify himself with the party of his choice, use his influence to have it adopt sound and progressive policies and to nominate broad-gauged and capable persons for public office, perhaps himself willing to stand for public office even at the price of personal sacrifice. In such ways and in such ways only can party responsibilities be distributed among many and the bosses be relieved of their job of keeping the party machines rolling. That this is possible has been well demonstrated in Cincinnati where slates are set up, canvasses and caucuses carried on, and polls watched by a thousand and more volunteers. They have been amply rewarded by high-grade public service, reduced debt charges, and lower tax rates.

Up to the present time government and politics have been largely a side show with most of our citizens. In

view of the greatly expanded functions of government in internal affairs and the prospective expansion in international affairs, these interests have moved into the main tent. Under this reasoning we must conclude that *politics becomes the proper avocation of every thoughtful adult*. To prepare young people for politics as an avocation there must be something akin to a revolution in educational methods and content. Government must be taught more realistically and more effectively, particularly as to motivation and stimulation. What has often been one of the poorest taught subjects should be one of the best. However much instructors may be committed to the scientific approach to the subject of politics and government, they cannot afford to neglect indoctrination in season and out with respect to the primary importance of participation in political processes.

College graduates are all too ready to hold themselves aloof from party activities; while not a few acquire an attitude of cynicism about them. However justified such an attitude may be in view of party policies and behaviors, it is well to remember that parties are what men and women make them and that many an apparently well entrenched party boss has been ousted by a small and cohesive minority group.

According to Duncan Aikman, one of the most assiduous students of politicians and their methods, politics is on the whole an institution carried on by people curiously incompetent at politics. "They are backslappers or stuffed shirts or town characters, primarily amateur organizers of voters' support for their candidates." Is it

then surprising that the top members of the national committee of one of the major parties are interested not in policies but in votes and jobs?

If the program above is accepted the time may come when the success of a college and particularly of a political science department will be measured by the proportion of its graduates who have become active politicians. In the opinion of the writer this would be an appropriate and a wholesome index of success. To obtain a high score on the scale not a few departments would have to modify their present offerings and introduce material that is derived from real political situations and has to do with real political personalities. An abundance of such material is now available.

Local Community a Laboratory

Of equal importance would be to make students aware of the politics and politicians in the local community. It has been said of Athens that the city itself provided a school of citizenship. Potentially at least, every town and city in a democratic country can be viewed and utilized as a school of citizenship if instructors in politics and government are alive to the possibilities in the local environment. Here are to be found real parties and leaders, real conflicts and issues as well as all those other factors which go to make democratic government what it is. If the local community were used as a laboratory, courses in politics and government could be vitalized just as are courses in the natural sciences which without their laboratories would be sterile indeed.

In passing it may be noted that the political scientists on a faculty

are not solely responsible for the prevailing attitudes of students in respect to politics and politicians. Historians and instructors of the other social sciences as well as of English literature contribute to the impressions gained by students in their academic years. Many a political cynic has been bred in courses in English literature.

Bridging the Gap

A number of professors of political science are giving more and more attention to the matter of stimulating their students to participate in politics after their graduation. At this point a problem arises as to how such young people may gain an entree into the party of their choice in the town or city where they settle to begin their career. Many a young man or woman has gone forth to carry high the banner of democratic citizenship only to be disappointed at their reception or lack of it, or they have been initiated in questionable party practices and become utterly disgusted with the low standards or even the chicanery of their political associates.

It is the belief of the present writer that there should be more effective indoctrination and stimulation on the campuses up and down the land—the *sending line*—but beyond that a program should be developed whereby young graduates may be initiated into party ways in the home town or wherever they settle down and further may be sponsored and guided by experienced, practical politicians during their novitiate. This means setting up a *receiving line*. In other words, what is needed is a means of implementing the entrance of young people

of intelligence and character into the party of their choice.

The problem of implementation has been discussed with well over a hundred political scientists and a number of nationally prominent political leaders. Efforts are now under way to raise a sum of money to finance the selection of small committees in both parties in all cities of 50,000 and over throughout the country. Such committees would consist of five or six men and women who appreciate the importance of recruiting promising young people into the local party and who would serve as their guides and mentors, making them wise in the ways of the party. Sponsors would be judiciously selected and would be asked to assume responsibility for all comers.

When the committees have been carefully chosen by those employed to perform this task, the names of the chairmen would be forwarded to all interested professors of political science of whom about one hundred have already agreed to cooperate. In case the student approached a teacher to inquire how he might get into politics—according to the teacher's previous advice—the teacher would inquire as to probable place of residence and party preference. By referring to his list of chairmen, he could give to the student a letter of introduction to a specific person, rather than advising him to get in touch with the precinct committee of his home precinct. This latter suggestion has been made by many an instructor and has in the end usually come to naught.

To anticipate the results of this proposal, let us assume that a party

of fifty young people from various campuses bring letters to the chairman of the sponsoring committees in a city of the size of Buffalo for the period of a decade. Would anyone question that a wholesome ferment would be introduced into the party organizations? Some of the 400-500 young people would doubtless grow weary or become absorbed in other interests; some might "go bad" in that they would play the regular political game; but a number would stand for and promote progressive measures and use their influence to improve the character of nominations to the party ticket, if not to stand for election themselves.

Local Politics a Reservoir

In estimating the merit of this proposal two self-evident truths may well be borne in mind: one, that the character of any organization depends in the long run on the people recruited into it; two, that the character of state and national parties and policies depends on the character of local parties. The grass-roots of the parties are the local precinct committeemen. Out of this reservoir come both future party leaders and nominees to elective offices. Only rarely is a candidate chosen for high office who has not come up through the ranks. For such reasons it is of prime importance that attention be given to the recruits entering local party organizations.

This article has to do not alone

with the government of tomorrow, but also with the society of tomorrow, for who can deny that governmental authority will hereafter serve as a major social force. Furthermore, it has to do not alone with local, state, and national governments, but also with the ways in which this nation will function in the family of nations. Our fate and the fate of oncoming generations are in the hands of politicians. Whether they are representative or unrepresentative, inspired or uninspired, narrow or broad-minded, will depend on the success of the educators in bringing home to the succeeding generations of students that in a democracy politics is everyman's business and that representative government will be representative or unrepresentative according to the extent to which individual men and women, each active in his own community, make it such.

In conclusion we may well remind ourselves of the final sentence in DeTocqueville's great study, *Democracy in America*. He wrote, "The nations of our time cannot prevent the conditions of men from becoming equal; but it depends upon themselves whether the principle of equality is to lead them to servitude or freedom, to knowledge or barbarism, to prosperity or to wretchedness."

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Adapted from article entitled "Education for Politics," by Dr. Mosher, published in the *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors, June 1943.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Is F-M in Your Postwar Plans?

ONE day last fall every child in the Cleveland public schools heard by radio a brief warning about a sudden outbreak of rabies. In school rooms throughout the city radio sets were turned on and school children listened while the friendly voice of a policeman told them about the danger and advised them simply and plainly what to do. A message presented at the request of the police department had been recorded so that it could be repeated throughout the school day.

Cleveland municipal authorities were able to render this service because of the existence of Station WBOE. The last three letters of the name of this station stand for Board of Education—the Cleveland Board of Education.

Policemen and other municipal officials are no strangers to the studios of WBOE. Since its establishment in 1938 this school-owned station has afforded numerous opportunities for close coöperation between the school system and various departments of the municipal government. Programs on safety education have been developed in co-operation with the police department; programs on health with the health department.

Cleveland's excellent air raid warning system used WBOE. Student radio monitors stood listening watch during school hours at every school in the city. The famous Cleveland Public Library presents programs every week over WBOE. Practically all Cleveland community services and activities find the school board's radio station a useful channel for supplying information to the city's school children and teach-

ers. What has happened in Cleveland as a result of the establishment of a school-owned and operated F-M radio station can happen in every large city of the nation.

What can municipal government officers and citizens expect of this new development? Will it be useful in the building of a more enlightened, responsible citizenry? How soon will F-M education stations come into existence? What will they cost? What can they mean for the various departments of municipal government? For Mr. John Q. Public? These are among the questions which are likely to be raised.

The educational station in this country is as old as radio and yet F-M for education is today a postwar prospect. In the early twenties electrical engineering departments of our great colleges and universities obtained licenses and operated stations. But only some 25 of these stations evolved from engineers' experiments into ongoing communication services—stations like the University of Wisconsin's WHA and Illinois' WILL.

By the middle thirties school superintendents and other college executives became so interested in the growing possibilities of radio that they supported U. S. Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker in a request for allocation of certain portions of a new broadcast band being opened up for general use. Acceding to this proposal the FCC in 1938 set aside one megacycle for non-commercial educational stations. Within two years this band and the neighboring commercial broadcast band

were reclassified for F-M (frequency modulation) type of broadcasting.

The FCC made its reclassification decision in 1940 just before war conditions put a stop to further production of transmitting stations or receivers. Only 45 commercial stations and five educational stations secured licenses and equipment in time to begin operations. Their operations have been restricted by inability of either the schools or householders to buy FM-AM receivers, although both Cleveland and Chicago schools have obtained F-M receiving equipment.

Postwar Plans Laid

In this period of waiting, both commercial broadcasters and educational institutions are laying their plans for postwar developments. To the 200 prewar commercial F-M applications before the FCC, more than 100 have been recently added. In addition, more than 100 school systems or colleges have reported their expectation to apply for licenses. Some have already applied. Atlanta, Newark, San Diego, Detroit, University of Michigan, Philadelphia, and other school systems or higher education institutions have either submitted license applications or are preparing to do so.

Establishment of an educational F-M station will not conflict with or overlap services of local commercial stations. Indeed, commercial broadcasters are encouraging the establishment of educational F-M stations. Effective use of radio as an aid to education requires in many cases very special adaptations both in content and time. What is good for the schools makes poor listening in the barber shop and therefore commercial radio welcomes the coming of special educational stations prepared to perform a special task.

The cost of acquiring an educational

F-M station for a community is not large. Three units are required: a transmitter, antenna on a tower or high building, and studios. The Chicago Board of Education's WBEZ cost slightly over \$10,000. What postwar prices on F-M equipment will be no one yet knows, but the large market that is opening up promises reductions growing out of multiple, if not mass, production. Roughly, it can be said that a school system can probably acquire a radio station for the cost of two classrooms. Considering the fact that such a station can serve all classrooms and ultimately bring adult education programs to all citizens, investment in an F-M station would appear to be a reasonable investment in modern community service.

Maintenance and operation costs will not be large. Tubes for F-M transmitters operate generally on lower power than present AM broadcasting stations and therefore last longer. FCC requires a second-class license operator to be in charge. After the war there will be many ex-servicemen holding second-class licenses. What management and production staff will be required will depend on the size of the community and the ambitiousness of the school system. For educational stations the FCC assigns no minimum number of hours of operation per day. They may operate two hours a day five days a week or eighteen hours a day. Cleveland's Board of Education budgets about \$20,000 annually for its F-M station director, engineers, and other headquarters service, but it also relies on part-time service of teachers and supervisors to develop programs which are on the air from 8.30 A.M. to 4 P.M. five days a week.

Moreover, it appears that the non-commercial, educational F-M broadcast station must ultimately consider its responsibilities as something wider

than municipal services. The 42-to-43 megacycle band allocated for educational broadcasting affords only five frequency channels—far too few to enable every municipality to have its own school-owned station. In fact, in order to insure educational broadcast service on a statewide basis, careful planning in terms of transmitter power, station sites, and the spacing of stations will be necessary. Consequently, each station will probably need to plan its services in terms of the total area to which it provides program coverage.

Because of the need for careful planning to assure equable sharing of facilities, the U. S. Office of Education has been aiding state departments of education to develop state plans for the use of F-M. Nine charts have been planned showing where transmitters can be placed to assure service from at least one transmitter to every school in a state. On these charts transmitters are located with due regard to program production resources—in or near large cities or colleges or universities. The Office of Education already has before the FCC a request for ten additional wave lengths. If this request is granted after the war more leeway can be allowed in the licensing of F-M stations for service to specific communities.

Many states are already planning to develop a federation or network of educational F-M stations. They look forward to the possibility of an exchange of programs. Thus high school students of two cities could carry on a debate which would reach all those within earshot of receivers in both communities. Programs created by universities and teachers colleges could be offered to F-M educational stations throughout a state. In Michigan where network plans are already far advanced, the various departments of the state government have already

shown a keen interest in securing the cooperation of the future educational network in presenting the educational needs and aspects of their services.

What kind of programs will be broadcast over the school-owned F-M station? The answer is almost every conceivable kind and perhaps many not conceivable at this time. Superintendent Lake of Cleveland says that experience in his city indicates that there is no subject of the curriculum for which radio cannot function effectively as an aid to learning.

Radio in Adult Education

What radio can mean to the adult education of citizens we are just beginning to discover. Today the exigencies of commercial radio confine Town Hall programs largely to single centers picked up by networks for relatively short times. In cities with F-M educational stations, we may readily expect the broadcasting of local town meetings devoted to local issues. These programs can go on during the evening hours for as long as may be necessary.

The future educational F-M stations may not be used for politics. Terms of the license from FCC require that non-commercial educational stations be used to provide educational services to schools and adults. Any use of the facilities for partisan political programs would, undoubtedly, be a violation of the word and spirit of the license. From the point of view of the future of municipal government, this restriction will prove beneficial. So great is the influence of radio in our society today that a transmitter operated by the municipal government might become a football of local politics. With the control and responsibility centered in the board of education and with the responsibilities for educational service definitely set forth, a local educational

(Continued on page 246)

Researcher's Digest: May

Boston looks at "in lieu" payments, kids in Oregon, subway fares, Cook County's new purchasing manual, Hartford's city employees, bonding practices, Alabama studies legislature.

By MIRIAM ROHER

HOUSERS speak of blighted areas.

But perhaps there is an opposite condition which results from government rehousing—"tax blight." Such a thing is suggested by the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** which has viewed, and with considerable alarm, *Payments in Lieu of Taxes on Public Housing in Boston*. The Bureau finds that there are payments all right, but they don't seem to be in lieu of any recognizable local tax standard. The federal assessments tend to be low and payments, such as they are, tend to be late. And the city loses.

Since more and more federal ownership or participation in housing and other local projects seems to be an inevitable part of the governmental picture, what the Bureau is calling for is a new look at the payments-in-lieu-of-taxes picture. If the local government is to render a subsidy by taking a hefty cut in taxes, maintains the Bureau, why not make it respectable by changing its name and calling it a subsidy? There are lots of facts and figures in this study to support the argument.

Curfew

Anyone can walk down the street, see a handsome but sightless young marine, and know he is looking in the face of war. It is much harder to recognize another spawn of wartime. He or she is the teen-age boy or girl, neglected by war-worker parents, left out of the excitement, pockets burning with wartime wages—almost inevitably a delinquent, infected eventually both in body and in emotional balance.

The **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon** has looked at this problem of juvenile delinquency, which is harassing municipal officials all over the country. In *Curfew Regulations in 57 Oregon Cities*, prepared in coöperation with the League of Oregon Cities, the Bureau has made a faithful study of the all-kids-off-the-street laws in Oregon and has come to the conclusion that this negative approach to the problem is effective only if really enforced by the police.

At the same time, however, the Bureau has enclosed with its curfew report a four-page brief on "Suggestions for Community Action to Curb Juvenile Delinquency" which states the problem, gives some figures, and then sensibly runs through all the constructive methods of keeping the kids wholesomely busy and out of mischief. There's nothing specially confined to Oregon about this discussion—it could apply anywhere.

Five-Cent Fare

It's pretty hard to find a city these days that doesn't have transportation problems, which is why the report of the **Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Inc.**, may be of interest to others than New Yorkers. The Association has examined the financial aspects of three years of complete municipal ownership and control of the rapid transit lines of New York City. What it has found is Deficit, transformed into a load carried by the taxpayers of the city. Moreover, maintain the surveyers, more and better equipment is sorely needed, which will only

mean more deficit. The conclusion bears on the old, old New York controversy—the five-cent fare. The Commerce and Industry Association doesn't say how much the fare ought to be. They do say that it ought to be "self-sustaining and self-liquidating."

Manual

First the **Cook County Budget Survey Commission**, whose work is directed by the **Chicago Civic Federation**, made a survey of the purchasing technique of several of the largest cities in the United States, including Detroit, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee. Through the mail they got information also on New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Kansas City, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and others. Then they pulled out all the best and wrote a *Manual of Purchasing Organization and Procedure of the Office of the Purchasing Agent, Cook County, Illinois*. The result of this eminently logical procedure looks like a very fine manual indeed. John F. Ward, who worked on the study, is now assistant purchasing agent of Cook County.

Introduction to Crime

While on the face of it not the most exciting topic in the world, bonding of public employees can become dramatic enough for anyone if someone *not* properly bonded happens to abscond with the crown jewels. Instructive, therefore, is the **Nebraska Legislative Council's** report on *Bonding of State Officers and Employees*. The usual legislative council procedure is followed and local practices are compared with those of other states.

Perquisites

Amid the current alarms on the subject of municipal employees' salaries, the **Hartford Governmental Research**

Institute thought it was high time someone pointed out that municipal workers do have some substantial perquisites not common to others. The March 23, 1944, number of *Taxpayers Business* describes the situation with regard to salaries, hours of employment, vacations, sick leave, compensation insurance, group life insurance, group health and accident insurance, and pensions.

New Series

Not unmindful of the fact that administration isn't the only pebble on the governmental beach, the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** has embarked on a series of studies under the general title, "The Legislative Process in Alabama." The first in the group is a work on *Legislative Apportionment*, done under the Bureau aegis by Hallie Farmer and published now between the usual attractive covers. There are maps, tables, and local history of this universally troublesome subject.

Housing

Herbert S. Swan has made a study for the **Institute of Public Administration** on *The Housing Market in New York City*. Since housing as a problem of government is obviously here to stay, there is much that is of value in this tremendously detailed, strictly economic approach to the subject.

Potpourri

Citizens and Parties

The **Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research's** *Just a Second* said recently, in outlining steps in party organization and management in Michigan: "It is not enough to vote. It is also necessary to participate in the organization and management of the political parties who present candidates and policies to be voted upon."

Bureaus Study Finance Problems

Governmental finance is an ever-present subject for scrutiny by the research bureaus. The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** has examined the school, city, and state finances of Providence and Rhode Island in recent bulletins. The **Boston Bureau** has issued a bulletin on the 1944 city budget.

The local tax situation in New York State is discussed in a release by the **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State**. The **Rochester (N. Y.) Bureau** discourses on county welfare appropriations.

The **New York Institute for Public Service** issues two post cards on various phases of realty taxation in the state. The state of New York, says *Just a Moment* (**Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**), would best exercise its right to supervise, review, and equalize assessments for the purposes of taxation "by guidance and direction of the existing local boards of assessors, and not by depriving them of their powers whenever anyone chooses to challenge their judgment."

Subjects predominating in recent issues of *Citizens Business*, published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** include the city's debt, its revenues, and the proposed sewer-rent ordinance.

* * *

Legislation

Recent issues of the **Bureau of Public Administration of Virginia's White Paper** give detailed information about bills introduced and enacted in this year's session of the Virginia State Assembly.

* * *

Postwar Planning

"Some First Considerations to Help Rationalize a Postwar Public Works Program for Baltimore," is the subject of a recent issue of *Your Tax Dollar*, published by the **Baltimore Commis-**

sion on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.

Both the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada** and the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research** have issued bulletins on planning organization.

Extension of sewer, water, and other improvements is the basis for a series of three articles in the bulletins of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research**.

* * *

County Affairs

In *St. Louis County Faces the Future*, a six-page leaflet "issued in promotion of a better public understanding of local governmental affairs," the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau** outlines various ways in which the county has reduced wasteful and inefficient organization methods and procedures.

* * *

Personnel Problems

Governmental personnel problems have been high on the agendas of some of the bureaus. Salaries and salary standardization have interested the **San Francisco Bureau** lately. The **Ohio Institute** has examined salaries of state administrative officers.

* * *

Research Bureaus Report

The **Philadelphia Bureau's** contributions to better city government in 1943 are outlined in its *Service Report*. They cover such varying fields as finance, sewage disposal, refuse collection and disposal, city planning, personnel administration, and water supply.

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** devotes an issue of *Dollars and Sense in Government* to a review of its 1943 activities. Among other things it gave assistance to the state Constitutional Convention, drafted bills for the Governor, and made studies of the St. Louis city government.

Census Bureau Findings

A bulletin of the **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research** summarizes findings of the Census Bureau about the city. Although 1942 Des Moines costs were substantially lower than the average for cities of its population class, the city's tax rates are higher than the average. This, the Bureau states, is largely because of the small amount of state-collected taxes it receives.

* * *

Miscellaneous

The March number of *Selected Items from the Urban Reference*, published by the **Princeton Bureau of Urban Research**, digests, among other things, Nathan Straus's *The Seven Myths of Housing*, the Bureau of the Census' *City Expenditure in 1942*, and *A New Jersey Program for the Postwar Period*—first report of the State Commission on Postwar Economic Welfare.

Research Bureau Reports

Auditing

Proposed Audits for the Department of Roads and Irrigation and Board of Control. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, February 1944. 20 pp.

Bonding

Bonding of State Officers and Employees. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, February 1944. 35 pp.

Curfew

Curfew Regulations in 57 Oregon Cities. Eugene, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon in coöperation with the League of Oregon Cities, January 1944. 9 pp.

Housing

The Housing Market in New York City. By Herbert S. Swan, for the In-

stitute of Public Administration. New York, Reinhold Publishing Company, 1944. 204 pp.

Legislature

Legislative Apportionment. By Halie Farmer. University, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1944. 40 pp.

Purchasing

Manual of Purchasing Organization and Procedure of the Office of the Purchasing Agent, Cook County, Illinois. By Cook County Budget Survey Staff. Chicago, November 1943. 83 pp.

Taxation

Payments in Lieu of Taxes on Public Housing in Boston. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, January 1944. 18 pp.

ON THE LOCAL FRONT

(Continued from page 242)

F-M station can become an aid to municipal departments. When they need for the success of their operations the understanding and coöperation which education can induce, they should be able to turn to their local educational F-M station for immediate and effective assistance.

Printed and mimeographed materials giving further facts may be obtained from the Radio and Information Service of the U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency. Tables can be supplied showing the service areas reached by transmitters of varying power, design, and antenna height. Other material provides the basis for rough estimates of costs. Recent summaries report the extent of current interest in one of the most promising new frontiers of education—F-M.

WILLIAM DOW BOUTWELL, *Director*
Information and Radio Services
U. S. Office of Education

Contributors in Review

THE field of municipal research has claimed most of the attention of **Max P. Heavenrich, Jr.** (*Dayton Counts Its Blessings*). Except for short excursions into government work, first as research assistant and assistant city planner of Saginaw, Michigan, and more recently as analyst for the Bureau of the Budget's Division of Administrative Management, Mr. Heavenrich has devoted most of his time to citizen research groups. He has been director of governmental research of the Flint, Michigan, Institute of Research and Planning; managing director of the Superior, Wisconsin, City and County Economy Association and of the St. Joseph, Missouri, Citizens Good Government Association. He is now manager of the Department of Governmental Research of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Heavenrich is author of numerous pamphlets on various phases of local government.

SINCE 1934 **Thomas L. Hinckley** (*Early Fiscal Plans Bear Fruit*) has been with the Division of Municipal Accounts in the Massachusetts Department of Corporations and Taxation, for which he makes special studies on local municipal finance. Training as a sanitary engineer, Mr. Hinckley worked for five years in that field, then joined Dr. William H. Allen's Training School for Public Service. Since then he has held various positions in industrial and municipal research work, city planning and zoning, etc., in White Plains (New York), Milwaukee, Toronto, and Middletown (Connecticut) and with the American City Bureau and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

DESCENDANT of an old Philadelphia family long interested in that city's governmental affairs, **William Barclay Lex** (*Election Frauds Go Unchecked*) is actively carrying on the family tradition. A prominent lawyer, Mr. Lex is vice chairman of the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, an organization of citizens interested in better things, governmentally speaking, for their city, and chairman of its special subcommittee on elections which has not only done much in exposing election frauds in Philadelphia but also has planned numerous constructive projects for the education of its school children in citizenship generally and in the intricacies of registration and election in particular.

IN the field of government and citizenship the influence of **William E. Mosher** (*Wanted: New Type Politician*) is felt far and wide. Professor of political science and dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University, Dr. Mosher has helped mold the careers of hundreds of young men now in public administration or citizen organization activities. He was the first president of the American Society of Public Administration (1940) and is an honorary vice president of the National Municipal League. He has conducted numerous surveys in the fields of public utilities and government personnel, is the author or co-author of a number of volumes, and is much sought after as a speaker and writer on public affairs.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Planning Institutes and Popularization Assist Cities' Postwar Programs

Municipalities Recognize Need for Immediate Positive Action

AN OUTSTANDING feature of the present widespread interest and activity in local planning to meet postwar problems is the succession of planning institutes that are taking place in widely scattered parts of the nation.

A score of these have been held in half a dozen states since October of last year, when Michigan led off with a five-day institute in Lansing, attended by 50 officials of Michigan communities. This was followed by four three-day district institutes in various cities of that state. The state legislature has appropriated \$5,000,000 for distribution to local governments—cities, villages, counties, and school districts—on a matching basis, for the preparation of project plans and specifications for postwar construction.

The Minnesota Planning Institute, held in St. Paul for four days early this year, was attended by 120 officials representing some 50 communities. That of Illinois, in Springfield March 6-10, brought out 58 officials of 28 municipalities.

The Colorado Municipal League conducted six one-day planning institutes in six different localities in the period from February 14 to March 8. Participants included municipal, county, and school officials and representatives of chambers of commerce and other civic groups.

Two five-day institutes were held in California in March, at Los Angeles

and Oakland. One was held in Philadelphia March 27-29, followed by a two-day session in Harrisburg, April 4-5, with another of three days planned for Pittsburgh; and it is expected that a series of district meetings will be held during the late spring and in the summer at Allentown, Wilkes-Barre, Erie, and other Pennsylvania regional centers. Several institutes in other states are in prospect.

The League of Oregon Cities reports that as a result of its twenty-one regional meetings late in 1943 and in 1944, attended by representatives of 111 cities, participants have been active in organizing postwar planning committees in municipalities and counties to stimulate and coordinate activity of governmental, industrial, and agricultural groups throughout the state.

The following brief outline for the Pennsylvania institutes illustrates the scope and nature of such conferences:

Postwar prospects of municipalities—employment, population, urban trends, intercommunity competition; economic resources; planning for postwar industrial employment and physical development of communities; legal authorization for planning.

Special planning problems and procedures for municipalities—relationship of postwar construction programs to long-term community plan, preparation and administration of master plan; zoning and other municipal controls; neighborhood planning and redevelopment; housing.

Planning public works programs for municipalities—scope of possible projects in large and small communities; plan preparation: (a) long-range plans, (b) project plans and specifications, (c) project selections, priorities and balance in program.

Financing postwar planning programs and public works: examination of local financial resources, possibilities of revenue-producing projects and of joint operation with neighborhood municipalities, planning a capital budget.

Local action in planning; organization for local planning and planning

administrators; public participation and public relations.

Examples of different types of organization and procedures for local planning are found in three Ohio cities—Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Toledo.

The Greater Cleveland Postwar Council, which includes public officials, civic association members, and representatives of labor and business, appointed by the mayor, is making a survey of all existing agencies engaged in any type of war planning activities in order to coordinate the planning being done in different fields.

A Citizens' Planning Association was organized recently for the Cincinnati area to promote the development and improvement of the city and surrounding territory and the establishment and utilization of a metropolitan master plan. It is financed entirely by private subscriptions from business firms and individuals.

In Toledo a staff is being organized for the increasing activities of both the City Plan Commission and the Lucas County Planning Commission.

Enlisting Popular Interest

Efforts are being made to stimulate popular interest in postwar problems and to bring together various elements in the cities in attempts to arrive at solutions.

The Minneapolis Research Bureau has sounded out the opinions of citizens of that city as to postwar questions through a poll made under the direction and supervision of the psychology department, University of Minnesota.¹ Among the results were the following:

Ninety-five per cent of those polled believed it would take most employers two years or less to reconvert to peacetime production; 38 per cent said six

months or less.

Sixty-one per cent believed that extensive public works projects would be necessary to take care of temporary postwar unemployment, with the following recommended, in order: elimination of grade crossings and traffic hazards; expansion and improvement of airport facilities; large-scale housing projects; schools, hospitals and other buildings, parks, etc.

Eighty per cent believed that a central committee should begin at once to make plans for the city's postwar period (a postwar planning committee appointed by the city council is now functioning).

In Syracuse, New York, the Postwar Planning Council of that city and Onondaga County has conducted a public participation program, and the public is aware of the need for planning, according to the American Society of Planning Officials, as a result of more than a year's intensive work by a salaried publicity staff and a volunteer citizens' committee. The council has sponsored a thirteen-week series of radio broadcasts entitled "Syracuse on Trial," with discussions of postwar employment, traffic, juvenile delinquency, property taxes, agriculture, etc. A speakers' bureau of 40 men and women is kept busy, an average of 500 inches of news space per month has been attained, schools stimulate interest by essay-writing contests, and the civilian defense organization uses its block wardens for questionnaires and census-taking in connection with postwar planning surveys.

Council-Manager Communities Pass 600 Mark

The International City Managers' Association list of council-manager municipalities has been brought to 602 by the fact that the manager plan was adopted by ten more towns in Maine at their town meetings in March.

¹See also "Mr. and Mrs. Minneapolis Answer a Few Questions," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1944, p. 205.

They are: Brownsville, Frenchville, St. Agatha, Stockholm, Van Buren, Dexter, Eagle Lake, Fort Kent, St. Francis, and Wallagrass. Two towns, Island Falls and Mercer, have voted to discontinue the manager plan. The towns of **Sidney** and **Vassalboro** have authorized committees for study of the manager plan.

The town of **Patten**, which adopted the manager plan in 1941, reports that following a complete financial study, the town having been over its debt limit, it has drastically reduced its debt, has increased its annual cash balance, and expects to liquidate the debt in the next two years. The city of **Brewer**, which has had council-manager government since 1932, is creating added interest through a monthly mimeographed sheet entitled *City Hall Topics*, reaching the public by distribution to all civilian defense personnel; requests for copies have come from various other cities.

The town of **Ludlow, Vermont**, recently voted 289 to 5 to retain the manager plan.

A proposal that **Battle Creek, Michigan**, adopt the council-manager plan was defeated at an election on April 3, with only about one-third of the registered voters going to the polls. The vote was 2,998 to 1,587. Charter revision in general was also defeated, 2,871 to 1,593. Two other propositions, involving extra taxes and municipal garbage handling, which tended to obscure the charter issues, were defeated by greater margins.

At a special election on March 21 **Pulaski, Virginia**, defeated a council-manager proposal, 620 to 261, out of 1,047 registered voters.

The **Canton, Illinois**, Association of Commerce has made the achievement of council-manager government for that city a major project.

The manager plan has aroused recent

interest in other places including **Columbus, Ohio**, **Flat River, Missouri**, **Ogden, Utah**, **Cheyenne, Wyoming**, **Westfield, New York**, and **Anchorage, Alaska**.

Much interest in the council-manager plan is evident in **Oregon**. The city council of **Eugene** on March 13 approved a charter amendment providing for the appointment of a manager by the council, the manager to administer all departments under council approval, with power to appoint and dismiss employees under civil service provisions where applicable. He is to appoint the recorder and treasurer, who are now elective. The chiefs of the police and fire departments are removed from civil service protection and placed under the manager. The amendment will be submitted to the voters on May 19.

The City Planning Commission of **Milwaukie, Oregon**, has decided to recommend the manager plan, and the city of **Hillsboro**, which has a partial manager plan under its old charter, is contemplating a new charter that will provide a full-fledged manager plan. In **Salem** a committee appointed by the mayor has prepared a proposed charter amendment providing for the manager plan and a council of seven (half the present number) which the Council on April 10 voted to submit to the people at the May 19 primary. A citizens' committee in **Marshfield** has been advocating a manager charter.

Hull, Quebec, has obtained a manager charter from the provincial legislature, and it is expected to be ratified soon by the city.

Geneva, New York, Charter in Process of Revision

A Charter Revision Commission has been established by the Common Council of Geneva, New York, consisting of seven members appointed by the

Council president from the membership of the Council and others. It is to study the charters of Geneva and other cities of the state, in the light of state laws; to submit a completely revised charter to the Council as soon as practicable; and to draft laws as additions to the charter or otherwise, "tending to promote a public or municipal purpose and serve the general welfare." The Commission's term of office is until December 31, 1945.

Toledo Completes Movie on Municipal Development

A moving picture, in technicolor and with sound, has been produced in Toledo, Ohio, under the direction of Charles Wertz, secretary to City Manager George N. Schoonmaker; it was made possible by contributions of Toledo industries and businesses. It shows scenes, personnel, and equipment of the city government, important landmarks, and industrial plants and processes within the city, and will be shown before civic groups and in downtown theatres.

Minnesota Interim Committee a Legislative Council in Embryo

In 1941 and again in 1943 the Minnesota House of Representatives passed bills providing for a legislative council, but in each instance the bill was killed in Senate Committee. Determined to demonstrate how such a council might aid the legislature, House leaders during the closing hours of the 1943 session introduced a House Resolution creating an Interim Committee on State Administration and Employment of five members with broad investigative powers somewhat similar to those included in the legislative council bill.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote of the House, and Speaker Lawrence Hall, who had led the fight for the council bill, appointed an outstanding committee consisting of the

majority leader and chairman of the Rules Committee, the chairman and vice chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and an active first-term member of the Civil Administration Committee.

The Interim Committee held its first regular meeting in June 1943. Subsequently Louis Dorweiler, Jr., assistant director of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research and previously a staff member of the Division of Administrative Management in the State Department of Administration, was appointed secretary and director of research.

Beginning in September, the committee has met about twice a month to receive and consider reports and to plan further studies. The fact that four of the five members are residents of or have offices in the Twin Cities area has facilitated frequent sessions and all members seem to have taken a keen interest in the Committee's work.

The major project of the Committee to date has been the gathering of factual information concerning state administration preliminary to the consideration of legislative measures necessary to deal with current governmental problems. Each administrative department and agency was called upon to submit information concerning its history, current activities, powers and duties, organization and methods of operation, personnel, finance, and accomplishments, in accordance with uniform specifications prepared by the research staff. Later on they will be asked to submit legislative recommendations. Most of the departmental reports have been completed and they provide the Committee with valuable data which is not readily available from any other source.

The staff at present is preparing a

report designed to show the effect, if any, upon local tax levies of legislation passed at the 1943 session reducing the state general property mill rate, and suspending the state one-mill school tax and the money and credits tax. Revenues lost by school districts because of the tax suspensions were replaced from the surplus in the state income tax school fund.

The need in Minnesota for a soldier vote law presented the Interim Committee with an unexpected opportunity for service to the legislature. The research staff prepared an excellent digest of special military voting laws enacted in other states since January 1, 1944, and of the regular absentee voting laws in states which had not enacted such laws, which digest was furnished to all members of the legislature at the four-day special session in March of this year. The committee drafted the soldier vote bill which was introduced in the House, and most of its provisions were incorporated in the measure as finally enacted.

Though there was evidence of some Senate resentment toward the House and its Interim Committee during the recent special session, some of which dates back to a controversy over tax legislation at the 1943 regular session, there is reason to think that the work of the Committee not only will further the legislative council idea in Minnesota but also may serve ultimately to develop mutual understanding and greater cooperation between the two houses.

LLOYD M. SHORT

University of Minnesota

New Jersey Legislature Adopts State Reorganization Measures

Upon notification on April 12 that the legislature was about to adjourn, Governor Edge congratulated legislative leaders upon one of the most con-

structive programs enacted in many years. He stressed the passage of the new constitution, to be submitted to popular vote in November, but also stated that modernization of the State Law Department, creation of a new Department of Taxation and Finance, and a Department of Economic Development to plan postwar construction, make a fine start toward reorganization of the entire state government. He commended the measure revising the state's civil service system and the establishment of a uniform fiscal year for the highway and general state funds.

The legislature will return on May 22, at which time action is expected to be taken on legislation to strengthen the basis of the police and firemen's pension systems and to consolidate existing educational agencies in an expanded state university and reorganize the Department of Education.

South Carolina Studies Administration and Taxes

A comprehensive study of the state government of South Carolina is under way, under the direction of the Preparedness for Peace Commission authorized by the state legislature this year. Technical assistance is furnished by Public Administration Service of Chicago.

The Commission is empowered to make a realistic appraisal of the state's governmental operations and to recommend appropriate legislative and administrative action, probably in 1945. Consolidation or abolition of departments and bureaus are envisaged. The financial and administrative aspects of the state school system will be examined, as well as the state's overall administrative organization and tax structure.

The outline of the commission's procedure calls for the development of a

peacetime economy for the state, the study of the state government to make it more efficient and economical, an investigation of state taxation and the development of a "sensible, stable tax program which will permit a wider industrial expansion," and a search for ways of advancing the welfare of the state and of solving postwar problems.

The initial setup, now in progress, is to determine existing facilities and materials and their value in a comprehensive program of governmental reorganization and postwar planning, which is to be developed in succeeding phases of the study.

South Carolina is believed to be the first state to undertake coordination of a broad administrative reorganization and of a general effort in postwar planning.

Kentucky Weakens Centralized State Administration

In the recently concluded regular session of the Kentucky General Assembly a number of occurrences materially modify the administrative reorganization plan adopted in 1936 to provide for general gubernatorial responsibility.

1. The most arresting development concerned budgeting. In recent years the Governor, after the accumulation of estimates by the Department of Finance, has sought the advice of the Legislative Council in preparing his recommendations. The Governor submitted budget proposals to the 1944 legislature; but the budget document itself was not available to legislators until toward the middle of the session. Long after the budget message had been delivered the Governor in effect modified his recommendations by several million dollars.

Toward the close of the session the General Assembly took up consideration of the general appropriation bill—

a bill which in recent sessions has usually been finally passed during the first two or three weeks and without substantial opposition. The House approved the bill, and the Senate amended it to provide, among other things, that the expenditures of the biennium must be kept within the income. With the aid of a few votes from the majority, the Governor's partisans in the House killed the bill. Thus, the legislature adjourned without any general appropriation measure, despite a special executive message appealing for relief.

The General Assembly also proposed a constitutional amendment to prevent use of gasoline and motor vehicle taxes for any but road purposes, thereby seeking an element of budgetary inflexibility contrary to the spirit of 1934 and 1936 legislation.

2. Alcohol control has since 1936 been integrated with related functions: first, with other business regulation, and more recently with revenue administration. The Department of Revenue has always disliked the liquor administration assignment and sought at the recent legislative session relief from this responsibility. The General Assembly set up an independent agency to perform this regulatory function.

3. Other acts provided disintegration of minor business regulation agencies and of the agency for supervising fishing and hunting. Among other acts is one providing a fourth public utility regulatory agency, an aeronautics board.

4. One measure which eliminated a highway advisory commission had little effect on administration.

5. One measure provided a tuberculosis commission rather than full integration with the Department of Health.

6. The 1944 General Assembly changed the provisions of the 1936 re-

organization act to drop administrative members of the Legislative Council. This amendment is widely construed as a partisan move.

7. The already separate Disabled Ex-servicemen's Board was further disintegrated by giving the American Legion majority control.

The 1944 General Assembly set in motion plans for a state constitutional convention in 1948. It will be essential, if there is really to be a convention, that the 1946 legislature concur and that the electorate approve the idea in a 1947 referendum.

JAMES W. MARTIN

University of Kentucky

Massachusetts Acts on State, Federal Soldier Voting

The General Court (legislature) of Massachusetts adopted an act in April with respect to voting by members of the armed forces, including members of the merchant marine and of organizations attached to the armed forces—American Red Cross, Society of Friends, Women's Auxiliary Service Pilots, and the U.S.O.—and veterans of the present war.

The legislature had passed an absentee voting law in 1943 (for members of the armed services only) which permitted applications for absentee ballots and for registration to be made for such persons by any registered voter of Massachusetts who is a "kindred" of the absent person—spouse, parent, step-parent, child, sister, brother, uncle, aunt, niece, or nephew. Under the new law the member of the services may also register in person if he appears not less than three days before election. Applications for ballots by servicemen and women are not limited to formal applications or cards supplied by the federal government but may be in any written form evidencing a desire for a ballot, and shall

be considered as application for registration if the person was not registered.

Official federal war ballots are authorized for voting at the biennial state election "in so far as the General Court has power to authorize the same," and provided the voter has the constitutional qualifications for voting. Members of the armed forces may take their oaths in connection with absentee voting before any commissioned officer, sergeant, petty officer, or officially designated members of the merchant marine. The dates of primaries etc. are advanced. The Secretary of State is given power to determine details as to ballots, envelopes, mailing, and other administrative matters to facilitate absentee voting. The Governor's emergency war powers are extended to facilitate such voting, "mere informality" is not to invalidate elections, and the provisions of the law are to be construed liberally.

A Real Superintendent for New York's Schools

About four o'clock in the morning of March 19, shortly before its final adjournment for the year, the New York legislature passed the most hotly contested bill of the session with one vote to spare. The bill, signed as Chapter 496 of the Laws of 1944, gave the New York City school system a single responsible executive appointed by the Board of Education instead of a nine-man Board of Superintendents, appointed in the same way, on which the "superintendent of schools" had no more real power than any other member.

Correction of this anomalous arrangement had been sought for years by civic and education organizations and by the Board of Education, but the influential Board of Superintendents resisted and called in most of the organized teachers and parents' groups

as allies. In spite of the fact that practically all other large school systems have had single responsible executives for years, the plea was made that New York City is unique and that it would be dangerous to entrust so much power to any one man.

The famous Rapp-Coudert committee, set up by the legislature to investigate the public schools and colleges of the state, after a thorough study of the New York City school system under the competent guidance of Dr. George D. Strayer of Columbia Teachers College, recommended a year ago that the Board of Superintendents be limited to advisory and semi-judicial powers, that its members, the associate superintendents, be appointed by the Board of Education on the recommendation of the superintendent of schools and serve under him as administrators of various parts of the school system, and that all administrative responsibility be centered in the superintendent, subject to certain confirmations by the Board of Education.

A bill to accomplish this result, sponsored by Senator Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., of New York City, passed the Senate last year and was defeated in the closing minutes of the Assembly. Re-introduced this year, it passed the Senate again and was killed in the Assembly Education Committee. Thereupon a new bill was introduced and defeated by ten votes on the floor of the Assembly the day before adjournment.

The vote was not accepted as final, however, and for some hours the full weight of the Republican majority organization was thrown behind it to bring the recalcitrant members into line, while the Democratic organization and the teachers' lobby (though one of the largest teachers' organizations was for it) worked just as strenuously against it. Its final passage in

the Assembly, with most of the Republicans and one courageous Democrat—William T. Andrews, able Negro member from Harlem—voting in the affirmative, was the last important event of the session.¹

G. H. H., Jr.

State Merit System in Rhode Island Enlarges

Nearly 70 per cent of Rhode Island state employees have now gained permanent civil service status through the examination process, according to C. H. Cushman, director of the Department of Civil Service. As reported by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, the remaining job classifications not yet reached in this process chiefly concern small groups of employees. Last year the department administered 214 competitive examinations for state positions. As a further sign of progress it is stated that for the first time in three years the legislature will not consider a blanketing measure, such as has been defeated in previous years.

Federal Health Service Aids Communities Needing Doctors

Any municipality, county, or other local subdivision of government that has lost its doctors or dentists or otherwise suffers inadequate medical and dental care may file an application to secure a physician or dentist with the United States Public Health Service under recent legislation. The application is executed by the legally authorized representative of the community—the city manager, mayor, chairman of the county board of supervisors, county judge, etc.—and is sent, with the community's remittance of \$300 payable to the Treasurer of the

¹State Senator James G. Donovan, Manhattan Democrat, also voted for the bill.

United States, to the state health department. If approved it is forwarded to the U. S. Public Health Service.

Upon receipt of the application and the \$300 the Public Health Service can enter into an agreement with a physician or dentist who has a permit to practice in the state in which the applicant community is located, who agrees to practice in that community for at least one year, and who is acceptable to the community. The costs of transportation of the physician or dentist, his family and household effects, are paid. In addition a monthly allowance of \$250 a month for three months will be paid to the doctor. Of the total cost of transportation and relocation allowance, 75 per cent is contributed by the U. S. Public Health Service, 25 per cent by the community to which the doctor is relocated.

Public Administration Fellowships in the South

Ten unique regional fellowships in public administration will become available in June 1944, according to a joint announcement of the presidents of the Universities of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. These fellowships will be available to graduates of regular four-year college courses, and each will carry with it a grant of \$750 and fees. Graduates of southern institutions will be favored though not to the exclusion of high-grade applicants from other parts of the country.

An unusual feature of the program will be the use of all three universities by the group of students. The entire group will spend three months in Alabama, three in Georgia, and three in Tennessee; in addition each participant will spend three months on a work assignment in a governmental office or department. The General Education Board is furnishing money for the fellowships.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

City-County Planning Activity Increases

***Joint planning commissions
attempt to solve problems***

THERE appears to be increasing evidence that the function of planning lends itself well to joint operation on the part of city and county officials. During the past year a number of joint county-city planning activities have been begun, although with considerable variation in organization and programs.

Usually a joint planning commission of city and county is created, but in other instances a regional planning association has been utilized to cover not only the major county and city but also other smaller units as well.

The phase of planning that is emphasized appears to vary according to the problems causing the greatest difficulties at the moment. For example, financial planning is integrated in one office for Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee, and for Stockton and San Joaquin County, California.

The Broome County, New York, Community Council for Better Living, on which are represented prominent civic groups in the county, places major emphasis on civic development. The County Conference on Postwar Community Planning of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, is similar to the Broome County organization in that all members participate as private citizens, but it places greater emphasis on the technical aspects of planning and on helping to coördinate all planning efforts in the Pittsburgh area.

The county park and regional plan-

ning board of Onondaga County, New York, has reforested 2,200 acres and is charged with responsibility for supervising and extending further the community's forest preserve. Utah County, Utah, supplemented the zoning controls of the city of Provo by adopting a county plan and zoning ordinance, and a number of smaller cities in the area have done likewise.

Consolidation of King County and Seattle Advocated

A member of the Seattle, Washington, City Council has urged that that body consider the merger of Seattle with King County. In support of his proposal he has pointed to the ineffectiveness of the County Board of Commissioners and to the needless waste resulting from duplication of services involved in the operation of both a county and a city government.

Civilian Population Movement Continues

Another map issued by the United States Bureau of the Census, based on population statistics from April 1, 1940, to November 1, 1943, reveals that the civilian population of most counties is continuing to decrease while an increase is shown only in certain industrial areas.

Of the 3,089 counties in the United States, 2,620 showed a decrease in population. Almost half of these counties decreased by 15 per cent or more. Four hundred sixty-nine counties showed an increase in population, but in less than a third of this number did it amount to 15 per cent or more.

Hamilton County, Tenn., Praised for Manager Government

The Tennessee Taxpayers Association, in its Twelfth Annual Report, has declared that the results of the Hamilton County, Tennessee, council-manager

government are certain to be studied by other counties and that such study should result in improved administration in other progressive counties.

The report cites the reduction in membership of the county court (county legislative body), modern budgetary controls, improved accounting and pre-auditing procedure, installation of a daily reporting system, and general tightening of executive controls as causes of improved operations. Both improved services and reduced costs have resulted.

The report states: "Hamilton County has produced these results largely by creating the equivalent of a private corporation's usually small, compact, business-like board of directors and competent executives, with a carefully planned financial program and the will to make it work, an organizational structure and procedure designed to secure results at modest cost."

Wisconsin County Integrates Veterans' Services

Oneida County, Wisconsin, has organized the Oneida County Council of Service to coördinate and direct the employment, rehabilitation, and hospitalization of returning war veterans. The Council is composed of the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors and representatives of the County Pension Department, County Welfare Department, County Veterans Service Department, Rhinelander City Council, U. S. Employment Service, Selective Service Board, Red Cross, Soldiers and Sailors Relief Committee, Re-Employment Committee, and other groups.

The Council will act as a central clearing house, keep comprehensive records on claims, hospitalization, medical care, rehabilitation, and placement of all World War II veterans' cases, and refer all inquiries for aid to the appropriate agencies.

Citizen Action

Kansas City Voters Score Again

*Elect nonpartisan mayor and
councilmen for two-year term*

FOR the third time Kansas City (Missouri) voters have upheld nonpolitical government in the city that was once dominated by the notorious Pendergast machine. The first victory was won in 1940, when the United Campaign Committee elected eight of the nine councilmen including John B. Gage who was elected mayor and president of the council. Again in 1942, reform forces won a similar victory.

The election March 28 gave Mayor Gage a two-to-one majority over A. J. Stephens, a business man who ran with machine support. Including the mayor, who serves as a member of the Council, the citizens' administration retains its eight members in the nine-member body. The Pendergast machine re-elected its one councilman from the North Side, the district that formerly provided a large share of the machine's 60,000 ghost votes. A feature of the campaign was the comparatively close vote in this original machine bailiwick. The Negro vote favored Mayor Gage and the citizens' ticket.

The big majority reflects confidence in the Gage administration and distrust of any ticket sponsored by the Pendergast machine. The machine is operated by James Pendergast, a nephew of T. J. Pendergast who is barred from political activity by a federal court probation. James Pendergast and his ward leaders kept out of sight during the campaign while their candidates attempted to establish their independence. A curious suggestion of

the changed times was their tendency to compliment the accomplishments of the Gage administration. They only held out the promise that they could do still better. Stephens' theme was salesmanship to build the city.

Back of the Gage administration is a long series of accomplishments. Important city improvements have been made on a pay-as-you-go basis and a large surplus has been built up for postwar construction. It started four years ago with finances wrecked by the machine. About 12 per cent of the city's real estate levy is still going to pay off unauthorized debts left by the machine government. Influencing the shifting vote on the North Side is an expanding program for year-round recreation and playgrounds.

Still to be tested is the public support for nonpolitical government when it is divorced from personalities. Present success is identified with the personality of Mayor Gage. The mechanics of the city's administrative progress under L. P. Cookingham, appointive city manager, is only vaguely understood by the average voter. Many of the Republican and Democratic politicians, who have thrown their weight behind the citizens' association and the Gage administration, privately resent the nonpolitical government.

The one-sided victory against a dwindling political machine, however, is highly encouraging for citizens' government. Right now there is no organization or coalition in sight to stop it.

RICHARD B. FOWLER

Kansas City Star

Los Angeles Citizens Ask New Charter

A "streamlined" charter for Los Angeles is recommended by the **Citizens' Tax Committee** of that city, appointed last July to study the city's revenue problems and to make suggestions and

recommendations. In its recent report the Committee urged that the charter "provide a more simplified form of government with direct lines of authority and responsibility, and that such revision should be accomplished by a Board of Freeholders elected for that purpose at the next regular or special city election."

The Committee was organized at the suggestion of City Councilman J. Win Austin at a meeting of city officials and a group of citizens to discuss financial problems confronting the city. Councilman Austin suggested that James L. Beebe, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, who was recently awarded the Los Angeles Realty Board service watch as the citizen "who contributed the most valuable service to his community in 1943," be chairman and appoint the Committee's members.

The group met for the first time in September with the following questions before it:

1. How much additional revenue does the city of Los Angeles need?
2. What are the purposes for which it is required?
3. What sources of additional revenue have been considered by the Revenue and Taxation Committee?

The Committee held a number of hearings where it learned at first hand of the needs of the city departments, their costs, and related information. It worked without benefit of technical assistance and at no cost to the city other than the furnishing of a reporter for its first hearing.

The report includes chapters covering the present charter, essential information needed, and discussion of the city revenue problem, postwar capital expenditures, and tax policy. In addition to suggesting a new charter, it recommends that provisions of the charter dealing with the fire and police pen-

sion system be revised, that immediate steps be taken to provide adequate surveys and information on city departments, that qualified outside research agencies which make investigations at their own expense be encouraged to make surveys of city operations, that any proposal to levy any substantial additional tax be submitted to the voters, that at this time additional taxes for ordinary city expenditures are unnecessary, that in business license taxes and otherwise city officials follow a uniform tax policy, that a charge be made upon common carrier buses, as a franchise or tax, to compensate the city for the use of its streets.

Los Angeles Town Hall Studies Metropolitan Sewage Problem

The Municipal and County Government Section of **Town Hall, Los Angeles**, recently completed a study of the problem of sewage disposal in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The results of the Section's work, under the title *The Los Angeles Sewage Disposal Problem*, have been approved by the membership of the organization and issued as a regular Town Hall report.

Over a period of five months, the Section held fourteen meetings at which it heard representatives of a large number of official and unofficial agencies interested in the problem, including among others the mayor and city engineer of Los Angeles, the president of the California State Board of Public Health, the chief engineer and general manager of the Los Angeles County Sanitation Districts, the chairman of the Sewer Committee of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the chairman of the Los Angeles Citizens' Tax Committee, and representatives of several of the smaller cities of Los Angeles County.

The Section's report is non-technical in nature. Its avowed purpose is to

provide a brief summary of the basic facts for the Town Hall membership and the general public. It contains a description of the present disposal system, a review of past proposals for its improvement, an analysis of the current situation, and discussions of the engineering, administrative, and financial aspects of the problem.

Among recent developments have been: (1) The quarantine, in April 1943 by the State Board of Public Health, of a ten-mile strip of beach on Santa Monica Bay and revocation of the permit under which Los Angeles and other users of the disposal system had been discharging sewage through the submarine outfall; (2) Appropriation in December 1943, by the Los Angeles City Council, of \$8,000 for a survey of the engineering aspects of the sewage disposal problem; (3) The filing of suit on December 13, 1943, by the Attorney General of California against Los Angeles and the other users of the system. The complaint asks: first, that each of 141 defendants—municipalities, corporations, their officers and employees—be fined \$1,000 per day for every day the sewage disposal plant has been operated without a permit; second, that the defendants be restrained from using the present plant, or any plant, without a state permit; and third, that the defendants be required to install a safe and sanitary disposal system within a reasonable time to be fixed by the court.

The Town Hall Section reaches certain general conclusions: (1) That the menace to health, pointed out in the report of the Board of Public Health, must not be overlooked; (2) that the suit filed by the Attorney General may, unless adequate planning is undertaken immediately, force action upon any plan available, even if it is not the soundest conceivable plan and even if there^{is} no general agreement to it;

(3) that the wisdom of appropriating funds for an engineering study, to be conducted without reference to the administrative, legal, and financial aspects of the problem, is open to question.

Finally, the Section expressly recommends that a "thorough, impartial, independent and unified study of the administrative, legal, and financial, as well as the engineering, aspects of the problem be initiated at once and completed with all possible dispatch."

PAUL BECKETT, *Chairman*
Committee on Publications
Town Hall, Los Angeles

Here and There—

Planning Activities

A SPECIAL meeting of the **Chicago City Club's** Committee on Postwar Planning and Progress was attended by fourteen students of journalism from Northwestern University. The unique demonstration meeting resulted from a letter which Professor Curtiss D. MacDougall wrote asking permission to include the City Club in a series of trips to problem centers and civic organizations which he was arranging for his students. The purpose of the series was to give the budding journalists a foretaste of some of the activities with which they would meet in the course of their future careers.

Adopting a similar procedure, the Club's City Planning and Housing Committee varied its usual form of meeting by visiting the offices of the Chicago Plan Commission. The Club's *Bulletin* reports that the visit afforded an excellent opportunity to acquaint committee members with activities of the Plan Commission, particularly with respect to the progress of the Master Plan of Chicago.

"Postwar Planning—A Dream or a Reality?" is the theme of one issue of *For Your Information*, published by the

Lowell (Mass.) Taxpayers' Association. Another issue discusses the need for consolidation of departments under the city's new council-manager-proportional representation charter.

Community planning was the subject of the eighth annual municipal conference of the **Albany (N. Y.) City Club**. Speakers at the luncheon meeting were Hon. Erastus Corning, 2nd, mayor of Albany, and Walter J. Millard, education director of the Citizens Union of New York City, whose subject was "Community Planning and the Average Citizen."

On learning that certain tracts purchased by the city for playground purposes were about to be sold, the Board of Governors of the **Portland (Ore.) City Club** authorized the appointment of a committee to study parks and playgrounds with relation to long-range planning and with special reference to the acquisition of properties for the city and the school board. The committee will bring up to date the last report on the subject, published by the Club in 1930.

* * *

Cambridge Hears Seasongood

Hon. Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati and former president of the National Municipal League, recently addressed the **Cambridge (Mass.) Club**. In his address Mr. Seasongood urged that committees interested in good government should not go to sleep between elections, that the maintenance of good government demands the continued interest of all citizens the year round. In its new publication, titled *Plan E in Cambridge*, the **Cambridge Committee on Plan E** (council-manager plan with proportional representation) says that it "stands behind this statement. We have planned a definite program of activity and the Committee needs the help of all our

citizens. The publishing of this bulletin is a part of our program."

Mr. Seasongood recently was re-elected president of the **Hamilton County (Ohio) Good Government League** for 1944. This organization has asked its members to suggest which of its committees particularly interests them. Committees include those on city, county, civil service, legislative, courts and law, membership and finance, schools, program, and election machinery.

* * *

Keeping the Citizen Informed

"Know Your Government," a weekly feature article prepared by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** to provide citizens with information on their government and taxes, is now in its sixth year. Prepared in brief, informative fashion by the Association's staff, the articles are distributed through facilities of the New Jersey Press Association for publication in over a hundred weekly newspapers.

* * *

Questioning the Assessor

The April 1 issue of *The Citizen*, published by the **Citizens League of Port Huron, Michigan**, carries a number of questions on assessment which it asks of City Assessor Harry C. Schubert, together with Mr. Schubert's replies.

A bulletin of the **Civic Federation of Chicago** discusses the recent decision to change the Cook County assessment base from 37 per cent to 100 per cent of full value.¹

* * *

Citizens View the Schools

Civic groups are taking a critical look at the schools. A report of the **Chicago City Club's Education Committee**, "An Elementary School Curriculum for the Needs of Life in a Free

¹See "Chicago Changes Basis of Property Valuation," this issue, p. 268.

Society," is reproduced in part in the *Club Bulletin*. It praises certain new educational methods in use in many Chicago schools and calls on the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools to place these techniques in wider practice. States the report: "The end product [of the school] is a citizen with a healthy body, a firm grasp on the essentials of 'book learning,' a knowledge of his city, country, and world so that he may become an intelligent citizen, a grasp of the fundamentals of our society which will enable him to become proficient in whatever line of activity he chooses to make a living."

At one of its weekly luncheons the Club listened to Mrs. Walter F. Heine-man, member of the city's Board of Education, who said that no improvement could be expected until the political power behind the schools is eliminated.

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations**, in a release on "Forethought Now to Control School Costs During the Next Ten Years," points to the fact that "a few years from now there will be about 80,000 fewer pupils in the upper grades of the public schools of Massachusetts than there are now. This suggests that there is need right now for some careful study and planning if the school systems of cities and towns are to be adjusted to what is coming."

The Wisconsin Taxpayer, published by the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance**, discusses at some length a proposed two-mill state property tax for high school aid submitted to referendum on April 4.

The **Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues** publishes in *Nebraska Taxpayer* a discussion of the cost of education.

The **Citizens Union of New York City** recently released a statement by Rich-

ard S. Childs, chairman, on behalf of its executive committee, decrying reported interference by Mayor LaGuardia in the investigation of New York City education by a special committee of the National Education Association. "This charge calls for answer from both the Mayor and the education authorities," the Union's statement demands.

Plan E in Cambridge, issued by the **Cambridge Committee for Plan E**, publishes in its initial number a report on the city's "School Committee Activities Since January 1, 1944."

* * *

Strengthening the Merit System

The **Connecticut Merit System Association's** publication, *The Merit Man*, carries an article by its editor, Earl C. Shedd, on "Freedom from Political Regimentation," which covers the steps taken in this country to "guarantee to the people the control of government by limiting the political power of its employees although recognizing the rights of these employees, as citizens, to participate in elections and direct public policy."

* * *

Curbing Juvenile Delinquency

Lake City, a section of Seattle, determined to put an end to "willy-nilly scattered activity" for youngsters, has launched a new type of activity program for its boys and girls. Twenty-two local organizations—commercial clubs, community clubs, parent-teacher groups, war veterans associations, and churches—have banded together in an **Inter-Club Council** to promote a recreational program, reports the American Municipal Association. A coordinator has been appointed, his salary to be paid out of county funds.

Building of a youth center is delayed by war restrictions, meanwhile the use of all existing facilities is being expanded. Abandoned stores and old

arns as well as school buildings and community club houses will be used as youth gathering places. The council has offered to provide manpower to help push completion of a partially constructed Veterans of Foreign Wars building so it can house some of the youth activities planned.

* * *

Information on Candidates

Civic groups are publishing information on candidates for spring primaries and elections. The **Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues** lists national and state candidates for the two major parties. The **Seattle Municipal League** lists information and comments on candidates for the offices of mayor, city council, corporation council, and the school board, with comments also on two charter amendments referred to the voters. Citywide distribution of the report was undertaken with approximately 105,000 copies used in a door-to-door canvass. *Greater Cleveland*, organ of the **Citizens League of Cleveland**, lists federal, state, and county candidates and asks that readers scan the list and send in to the committee on Candidates estimates and comments on their qualifications.

* * *

With the Women Voters

The place of meeting for the sixteenth convention of the **National League of Women Voters** was changed from Excelsior Springs, Missouri, to the Stevens Hotel at Chicago. Dates remained the same, April 25 to 28. Five hundred delegates and alternates attended, representing 600 local leagues in 35 states. The League, organized in 1920 when women were first enfranchised, has grown into an organization with members in 1500 communities.

Members of the State Board of the **Maryland League of Women Voters** and of the **Baltimore City and County League** visited Congressman Streett

Baldwin at his Washington office. The State League's campaign to elect qualified public officials was launched at a meeting of the state board on March 8 in Washington.

The **Portland (Ore.) League of Women Voters** has been conducting a vigorous campaign to register 250,000 voters in Multnomah County. Coöperating are the Retail Trade Bureau, the Chamber of Commerce, Advertising Federation, Multnomah County Commissioners, all political parties, churches, and civic organizations.

The *Minnesota Woman Voter* publishes a statement by Rabbi Albert G. Minda praising the League for its activities. Says Rabbi Minda: "I have been greatly impressed with what this organization has done in examining and analyzing in an objective, nonpartisan manner the issues, state, national, and international in character, and in bringing its findings and conclusions to the public that it may know and act. I wish sometimes that organizations composed of men evinced the same zeal."

The **Minnesota League** will hold its annual meeting at St. Paul May 17-18.

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** has published the voting record of Illinois congressmen, but cautions that this should not be the only basis for judging congressmen. The League continues its campaign for a new state constitution.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The resignation of **Miss Grace D. Treat**, executive secretary of the Women's City Club of Cleveland for the past 24 years, has been accepted by the Club. In its acceptance the Board stated that it "wishes to acknowledge gratefully her long and splendid support and direction toward maintaining those high civic standards by which the prestige of the Women's City Club has been established in the community."

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

Women Voters Report on P. R.

*A survey in New York after
seven years, four elections*

FACED with the threat that the New York legislature would attempt to prohibit the use of proportional representation in New York City—as well as elsewhere in the state¹—the New York City League of Women Voters' Committee on Election Procedure and Activities undertook to study P. R. as it has worked out in the city and to make recommendations to the League membership.

After a thorough investigation, which included not only a review of the history of P. R. in New York but also in other U. S. cities and in other countries, the Committee presented a report which the League's Board of Management has distributed to members. The report contained the following conclusions and recommendations:

Conclusions

1. The P. R. system for the election of councilmen in New York City has proved the most democratic since the representation which the electorate has received most fairly reflects the vote cast.

2. The system automatically accomplishes reapportionment as between the different boroughs at every election.

3. It has given this city a legislative body of higher calibre than it had under the old system.

4. The council is a more deliberative

body than the old Board of Aldermen and on the whole has introduced and passed more statesmanlike measures.

5. Racial and religious voting under P. R. is no greater than under the plurality system; this is clearly demonstrated by the transfers of votes.

6. Although practically no educational work is done among the electorate, save that of a few civic and political organizations, and although voting under a new and different system requires several elections to master it properly, nevertheless the great majority of the electorate has been able to mark its ballots correctly.

7. The number of interested voters is as great as, if not greater than, under the system previously existing and could be increased if comprehensive educational campaigns were conducted.

8. Wider choice is offered to and greater discretion is exercised by the individual voter, since emblem voting has been discarded, the district enlarged to take in the whole borough, and candidates with boroughwide reputations run for office.

Recommendations

This committee recommends that the Hare system of P. R. be retained and the method of electing the city council and that encouragement be given to the manufacture of machines to mark and count the ballots.

We earnestly petition our New York press to give more publicity to council elections, which we consider of the utmost importance, so that the vote of the city may be better informed of their rights and responsibilities and concerning the qualifications of candidates.

We solicit that discriminating concern and eternal vigilance of each voter which is, after all, the price which must be paid for good representative government and liberty.

¹See "Attack on P. R. Fails in New York Legislature," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1944, page 213.

P. R. History

Prefacing its conclusions, the committee reviewed the history of P. R. in New York City, stressing the fact that after its adoption in 1936 by a vote of 923,000 to 555,000 the voters of the city continued to support it by sizable majorities when various attempts were made to discard it. The report has been reproduced in its entirety in the League's *Active Voter* of March 20.

E. S. P.

Ballots Re-examined in Brooklyn

During the last two weeks of March over 85,000 of the 440,000 P. R. ballots cast in the borough of Brooklyn last November were subjected to a second scrutiny. This was because former Councilman Louis P. Goldberg, who was declared defeated on the next to last count, paid \$250 to the Board of Elections in conformity with the section of the city charter which permits such scrutiny at a cost of \$25 a day to whoever requests it.

Mr. Goldberg, who was leader of the American Labor party delegation in the 1942-43 P. R. Council, had a theory that he should have received several hundred more ballots than were credited to him at a crucial stage in the count. To assure himself of the facts he paid for an examination of ballots transferred or held "exhausted" toward the end of the count when his elimination or continuance in the race was being decided.

In addition to a regular employee of the Board of Elections, four temporary clerks were hired. Mr. Goldberg, two of his friends, and the writer acted as checkers. Other candidates whose fates were involved also attended. At the end of the two weeks, when the 85,000 ballots had all been examined, the total number of ballots in the exhausted pile and in the quota piles of

several elected candidates which should have been credited to Mr. Goldberg was found to be 153—only a small percentage of the number needed to make any change in the election result. Also no substantial number of misplaced ballots of any other candidates was discovered.

The recount served to give added assurance that successful fraud or serious inaccuracy is extremely unlikely in a P. R. count. This is because of the number of persons who would have to conspire or repeat the same mistakes to accomplish it and the amount of scrutiny there is on the part of those who would be hurt by it.

WALTER J. MILLARD

New York Home Rule Extension Signed

The Desmond city home rule bill referred to in this department last month has now been signed by the Governor as Chapter 602 of the New York Laws of 1944. It will now be possible for citizens of any city in the state to put an extensive charter revision on the ballot by petition.¹

Rotary International Considers the Hare System

According to the Rotary International *News Letter*, which goes to 5,208 Rotary Clubs in various countries from headquarters in Chicago, "The possibilities of the use by Rotary International of the single transferable ballot has been suggested several times, more recently by the Rotary Club of Dublin, Ireland, at the time of the Toronto convention."

The single transferable vote or Hare system is the form of P. R. used for the election of all public bodies in

¹A fuller discussion of the new law will appear in the June issue of the REVIEW—section on City, State, and Nation, H. M. Olmsted, Editor.

Eire and for a number of city councils and school boards in the United States and Canada. Applied to a single office it becomes a good system of majority preferential voting.

The *News Letter* of October 15, 1943, continues: "The Board of Directors of R. I. at its January 1943 meeting expressed the opinion that in view of the effect of existing wartime conditions on attendance at R. I. conventions, the present method of voting used by R. I. should be continued. Therefore the board deferred consideration of the use of the single transferable ballot until conditions make it possible to obtain a more representative vote on the matter by member clubs in all parts of the world."

Sensing that many Rotarians in parts of the world where the system is not in use could not vote on its adoption intelligently, the *News Letter* gives a simple example of its application to a single office.

It asks, however, that amendments to the constitution and by-laws, unless "of an urgent nature," be not presented for consideration at the 1944 convention, to be held in Omaha May 23-25, because war conditions will make it impossible for clubs in many parts of the world to be represented.

Two British Books on Representation

Two books recently published in London will be of interest to proportionalists on this side of the Atlantic—*Parliamentary Representation*, by J. F. S. Ross,¹ and *Coupon or Free?*, by R. W. G. Mackay.²

The fact that the University of London made a grant to aid in the publication of the book by Mr. Ross, who

put into it "nearly ten years of detailed investigation and thought," is proof that it merits the serious attention of those who not only believe in democracy but also are equally concerned in discovering the methods for best applying that principle. We are presented in Parts I and II with a careful examination of the British Parliaments of the interwar years from such sociological and economic angles as age of members, their education, their occupations, and the cost of electing them. No non-Briton can comprehend these Parliaments unless he is aware of the facts set forth in Chapter IX. This tabulates the family and marriage ties that exist between the two houses. In the present House of Commons 144 members are related to members of the other and non-elected house.

Part III, consisting of seven chapters, is an "endeavor to make constructive suggestions for bringing about a more satisfactory state of affairs." Its second chapter, *An Ideal Member of Parliament*, should encourage an American political scientist to draw up a parallel set of specifications for an ideal member of Congress. Two of the chapters which follow, on electoral reform, present the argument for and the details of the Hare system. This, with certain financial reforms, is seen to be the only proposal that "makes sense" in view of the facts—many of which are arranged in simple graphs—already placed before us.

The British citizen when he votes is fortunate in not having to consider anything but "policies," for he elects only members of policy-making bodies. This difference in "gestalt" between the American and British systems should always be kept in mind by those who compare the two and who may use these two books as tools for such comparison. The council-manager system is a parallel of the British system, for

¹Published by Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, W. C. 2, 1943. 245 pp. 10/6.

²Published by Secker and Warburg, London, 1943. 144 pp. 5/-.

under it only the council, the policy-making body, is elective. Now that the Hare system is found by the careful study that Mr. Ross has made of the "controlled executive system" to be essential to the proper operation of the latter, the use of the Hare system by American council-manager cities is "indicated."

P. R. Recommended

The unconcealed anger of a majority of the present British House of Commons at the demand of Winston Churchill that it reverse itself on the question of equal pay for men and women teachers gives rise to great speculation as to what the next House of Commons will be like. Mr. Mackay's book is written "to focus people's attention on the urgent need for electoral reform now, before the next general election." His thesis is that Britain will endanger the confidence of her own people in the democratic method, and possibly prevent the organization of a permanent peace, if that election produces a Parliament as non-representative as the seven elected since 1917. He gives in Chapter III the reasons why they were non-representative and these include some not dealt with by Mr. Ross.

Mr. Mackay's main recommendation is that of Mr. Ross—the Hare system of proportional representation should be applied to the election of the House of Commons. His explanation of the system is a model of clarity. The last chapter, Representative Government

and Democracy, is a discussion of the relation of method to principle and principle to method which deserves to have many American as well as British readers. It is stimulating and challenging, even though one may not agree with such sentences as: "If this war has any meaning in terms of economic conflict it is that capitalism and political democracy must inevitably be in continual conflict, which can only be resolved by some form of fascism or socialism." There are many Americans who believe that "capitalism," if not too narrowly defined and made part of what is called a "mixed" economic system, is both compatible with and requires political democracy.

The two books complement one another admirably. The first gives a mass of meticulously gathered facts and forces one to a general conclusion; the second applies that general conclusion to the immediate need of the British nation and does it with a passion and eloquence which bring to mind Professor R. H. Tawney, whom Mr. Mackay quotes with admiration. Both deserve careful reading by thoughtful Americans. We need to be aware of the shape of things to come in each of the Allied Nations. These books will influence, there is no doubt, the political form of the democracy of one of them—Great Britain—and their message has importance for this nation also.

W. J. M.

May 21 Is Citizenship Day

In accordance with the Congressional resolution setting aside the third Sunday in May of each year as citizenship day for the recognition of new citizens who have attained their majority or have been naturalized, President Roosevelt has proclaimed May 21 "I Am an American Day." In his proclamation the President called upon "federal, state, and local officials, and patriotic, civic, and educational organizations to plan and hold, on or about May 21, exercises designed to assist our citizens, both native-born and naturalized, to understand more fully the great privileges and responsibilities of citizenship in our democracy."

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Chicago Changes Basis of Property Valuation

Assessment to be raised to 100% of full value basis

CHANGES being made by the Cook County assessor in fixing the 1943 taxable valuation for Chicago and its sister governmental units threaten to cause almost as great a disturbance in the community as did the revaluation of 1928, from all of whose effects the community has not yet recovered. Where the 1928 reassessment effected the wholesale revaluation of property to overcome gross inequalities as found by the State Tax Commission, however, the present change is for the more limited purpose of raising the ratio of assessed value from a present level of approximately 37 per cent of so-called full or true value to the 100 per cent basis required since 1927.

The change in the basis of assessment will be accompanied by a roughly proportionate decrease in the tax rate. The decrease will be only roughly proportionate, however, because the city and other governments all have tax rate limits for their operating funds, and the increased valuations will permit higher levies than are presently permissible.

Chicago has for many years been caught in the vise between declining taxable valuations and tax rate limits on its numerous operating and special funds. From a peak of \$4,250,000,000 in 1927, taxable valuations declined to \$3,789,000,000 for 1930 and have since dwindled, more or less steadily, to \$1,862,000,000 for 1942, the valuation on which taxes collectable in 1943 were based. Annual levies have also dwindle

dled, despite increases in the rate. The following table, from data reported by the Chicago Civic Federation, summarizes what has happened since 1930

		Overall	Overall
	Assessed Valuation	Tax Rate per \$100	Tax Levy in Chicago
1930	\$3,788,915,049	\$ 6.74	\$252,876,877
1933	2,397,652,228	6.49	153,383,325
1940	1,995,827,539	9.52	190,009,685
1941	1,935,481,424	9.89	191,425,646
1942	1,861,585,339	10.42	193,977,192

It is to be noted that the assessed valuations, rates, and levies apply to the budget for the year designated, but the taxes are not collected until the following year. Thus, 1942 taxes were not placed in collection until the spring of 1943, and were not finally delinquent until last fall.

The assessed valuation now being fixed by the county assessor (Cook County is the assessing and tax-collecting agency for all the local units) will be the basis for 1943 taxes, which will go into collection later this spring and become finally delinquent in September 1944. Consequently, the first rates and levies on the new 100 per cent basis of assessment will reflect 1943 budgets, and the effect of the higher basis of assessment will not be fully reflected until 1944 taxes are put into collection next year.

For 1943 it is estimated that the city valuation on a full 100 per cent basis of assessment will be in the vicinity of \$5,000,000,000. (The 1942 assessment of \$1,862,000,000 would have been \$5,031,000,000 on a 100 per cent basis but indications are that the downward trend of valuations will continue when final 1943 figures become available.)

In drawing 1944 budgets some units have taken advantage of the prospectively higher valuation and are budgeting tax requirements which would not have been permissible within their tax rate limits on the old 37 per cent

basis of assessment. In all, according to Civic Federation estimates, something near \$4,258,000 has been budgeted for 1944 in this manner for taxes collectable within Chicago. Most of the increase is for Cook County's general fund, which has long been on a deficiency basis and which last year became so involved that a supplementary levy to take up part of the accumulated deficit is clearly justified. Other increases have less justification and have been severely criticized by Chicago civic and service groups.

While taxes collectable this year will not reflect the larger budgets arising from the expansion of permissible levies within the tax rate limits, some increase over what would otherwise be permissible is in prospect. This is because in a few cases budgets called for levies higher than could have been collected under the 37 per cent basis of assessment. About \$711,000 in higher levies arise from this source. A smaller amount will be added because of the operation of the method of computing the rate and extending the levies. In fixing their budget requirements the units estimate taxes on rates carried out to as many as six decimal places, but the assessor, in computing taxes for collection, is required to use a rate in even cents per \$100 of valuation, raising the fractions to accomplish this purpose. Obviously, the larger the valuation, the greater the excess over budget estimates that is produced by raising the rate to the next cent to eliminate fractions. It is estimated that about \$551,000 will be added to the 1943 levy in this manner. Even so, it is estimated that the 1943 tax bill in Chicago, collectable this year, will be only about \$188,472,000, or about \$5,500,000 less than in 1942.

The 1944 budget developments are likely to lead to litigation and to changes in the legislation respecting taxation,

since there is evident a conflict as to what present controlling tax limits are. For a number of years the tax limits as established by maximum tax rates have been so restrictive that successive legislatures have authorized more adequate levies by providing alternative limits in the shape of "pegged" levies. On the new 100 per cent basis of assessment the yield under the tax rate limits is of course greater than that under the "pegged" levy laws, and a legislative re-examination of the whole matter of tax limits is being urged.

The raising of the basis of assessment is also having repercussions outside Cook County. Under Illinois law railroad property is valued by the State Tax Commission, which in order to avoid discrimination between counties using different bases of assessment finds it necessary to equalize its valuations. For this purpose a statewide weighted average has been used in the past. If the same procedure is used for 1943 the practical effect will be to lower railroad property taxes in Cook County by something like \$2,000,000 and raise those downstate by about \$8,000,000, since downstate counties use ratios predominantly well below 50 per cent.

The situation is to some extent indicative of the chaos resulting from too-long delayed changes in a tax system badly needing overhauling. The fund system of tax rate limits in use has long contributed to the piling up of operating deficits which must eventually either be met by the taxpayer or repudiated, and the lack of home rule for Chicago and its other units has unnecessarily brought the state legislature into the picture as special legislation was sought, permitting buck-passing between Chicago and downstate and making it next to impossible for the Chicago units to formulate their own program.

Assessment of property at as near full value as practicable is usually regarded as a healthy practice, and if the Cook County assessor in raising his valuations to 100 per cent of full value precipitates a good housecleaning of Chicago's tax system, he will have performed a doubly beneficial act. The danger is that the change may become the occasion for long-protracted delays in collections, destruction of taxpayer morale, and increased tax delinquency, such as followed the reassessment of 1928 and were aggravated by the depression of the early 1930's.

Simplified Income Tax Plan Approved

A simplification of the federal income tax rate structure and returns is promised under the plan adopted by the House Ways and Means Committee; it will probably go through without substantial change. Under the plan provision will be made for collection at the source without the necessity of filing a return on incomes of up to \$5,000 where income not subject to withholding does not exceed \$100. In the rate structure, the victory tax is to be abolished, and the normal and surtaxes combined into a single rate ranging from 20 per cent up to 91 per cent. Tables showing comparatively the tax liability under the proposed set-up and that under the present revenue law indicate small increases for all taxpayers except those in the married with two or more children category of the middle income group, who will receive small reductions.

Taxes of All Government Levels Take 24% of Country's Income

Total tax collections throughout the country—federal, state, and local—were \$30,398,000,000 for fiscal year 1943, or 23.5 per cent of the country's total income for the same year. This is an

increase of 141 per cent in total tax collections between 1939 and 1943, but represents a rise of only 5 per cent in proportion to the rising national income during those years.¹

The three levels of government collected (excluding social security payments) \$12,602,000,000 during the 1939 fiscal year—18.5 per cent of national income for that year. The national income (excluding undistributed corporate earnings), however, rose 90 per cent during the five-year period, from \$68,021,000,000 to \$129,350,000,000.

Relatively moderate increase of total tax collections in proportion to national income is explained by the fact that local taxes decreased, not only in proportion to the growing national income but in absolute amount, while state collections during the same period did not keep pace with the swift rise in national income.

State tax collections rose from \$3,057,000,000 in 1939 to \$3,906,000,000 in 1943, an increase of 27.8 per cent, though they were only 3 per cent of national income in 1943 compared with 4.5 per cent in fiscal 1939. And significance of local tax collections in proportion to national income was cut almost in half during the five-year period, dropping from 7 to 3.6 per cent.

Federal collections increased 360 per cent, from \$4,760,000,000 for fiscal 1939 to \$21,880,000,000 for 1943. On the basis of per cent of national income the increase was from 7 per cent—equalled by local collections in 1939—to 16.9 per cent for the 1943 fiscal year.

Preliminary estimates for federal, state, and local tax collections for the 1944 fiscal year indicate that present trends are being accentuated still further.

¹From an analysis by the Federation of Tax Administrators based on figures issued by the U. S. Department of Commerce, U. S. Treasury, Bureau of the Census, and Tax Institute.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

City Problems of 1943-1944. The Annual Proceedings of the United States Conference of Mayors. Edited by Harry J. Betters. Washington, D. C., The United States Conference of Mayors, 1944. iii, 216 pp. \$3.

The latest edition of the Conference of Mayors' *Proceedings* contains articles giving extensive information about war and postwar problems of cities by outstanding authorities. Manpower, economic stabilization, disposal of federal surplus property, and postwar public works planning are but a few of the subjects covered. Two of the most important problems which will continue to confront cities—federal-state-local fiscal relations and metropolitan areas—are discussed. As striking as the scope of articles are the outstanding authorities who write them.

EDWARD W. WEIDNER

American Housing: Problems and Prospects. Factual Findings by Miles J. Colean; The Program by the Housing Committee. New York City, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1944. xxii, 36 pp. \$3.

This book gives a comprehensive treatment of production and marketing problems in housing, together with a recommended program for action. The survey finds that postwar housebuilding should be concentrated in the \$2,000 to \$4,000 price range where the need is greatest, and the committee recommends "a reduction of production costs through the encouragement of larger producing organizations, through greater use of machinery and factory-produced parts, more highly productive industrial techniques, and the establishment, for the bulk of house production, of more direct and economical methods of materials distribution." Building codes and antitrust and anti-racketeer-

ing laws need to be changed to meet the postwar needs of an adequate housing program, the committee says.

E. W. W.

Municipalities and the Law in Action. A record of experience covering the second year of the war. Proceedings of the 1943 War Conference of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. Edited by Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1944. 553 pp. \$10.

The 1944 edition of *Municipalities and the Law in Action* emphasizes postwar planning, intergovernmental relations, taxation, and public utilities as well as certain problems of wartime confronting cities. Two trends are especially noticeable in this year's volume: First, the shift in emphasis from civilian defense to postwar planning and, second, the emphasis on the effects upon tax receipts of the rapid expansion of federal ownership of real estate in carrying out the war program.

E. W. W.

Additional Books and Pamphlets¹

Accounting

Proceedings—Conference on Federal Government Accounting. Sponsored by the American Institute of Accountants in cooperation with United States Treasury Department, General Accounting Office and Bureau of the Budget. New York 17, American Institute of Accountants, 1944. 118 pp.

Debt

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1943. City Debt on June 30,

¹See also Research Bureau Reports, p. 246.

1943. By Woodrow L. Ginsburg. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 12 and 16 pp. respectively.

Hospitals

Small Community Hospitals. By Henry J. Southmayd and Geddes Smith. New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1944. ix, 182 pp. \$2.

Initiative and Referendum

State Proposals Voted Upon in 1943.

By Abe Blunar. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1944. 7 pp.

Legislative Councils

Progress Report—March Council Meeting. A Summary of the Activities of the Legislative Council Committee Reports and Considerations of Proposals, Quarterly Meeting, March 15-17, 1944. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, 1944. 13 pp.

Postwar Planning

American Rural Life and War and Postwar Planning. Proceedings of the 1943 American Country Life Conference, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, June 9 and 10, 1943. Apply Dr. O. F. Hall, Secretary of the Conference, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

Marching Home. Educational and Social Adjustment After the War. Considerations relating to the training of community and national workers, leaders, and counselors to be concerned with the educational, vocational, social, and personal adjustment and the rehabilitation of men and women leaving government service. By Morse A. Cartwright. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944. iv, 44 pp. 25 cents.

Planning and Postwar Planning—State Organizations. Membership Directory. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1943. 34 pp. \$1.

Proportional Representation

Coupon or Free? By R. W. G. Mackay. London, Secker and Warburg, 1943. 144 pp. 5/-.

Parliamentary Representation.² By J. F. S. Ross. London, W. C. 2, 1943. 246 pp. 10/6.

Real Estate Development

Rules and Regulations—Guide for Real Estate Developments and Land Subdivisions—Filing of Plats. Wilmington, Delaware, Regional Planning Commission of New Castle County, 1944. 25 pp.

Retirement Systems

The Scope of Protection under State and Local Government Retirement Systems. By Dorothy F. McGammar. Washington, D. C., Social Security Board, Bureau of Research and Statistics, 1943. 150 pp.

Surplus War Property

Cities and Surplus War Property Disposal. A Report Submitted to the Surplus War Property Administration by The United States Conference of Mayors on Behalf of 230 Major Member American Cities over 30,000 in Population. Washington 6, D. C., The United States Conference of Mayors, 1944. 5 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Summary of Finances of State Governments in 1943 (Preliminary). Washington, D. C., Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, 1940. 10 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

A Chart for Changing Cities. A progress report on urban redevelopment reviewing the record to date and surveying future possibilities. San Francisco 11, California Housing and Planning Association, 1944. 21 pp.

War Contract Termination

War Contract Termination (Part I) By Cecil E. Fraser and others. Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 1944. 11 pp. \$1.

²For a discussion of these volumes see p. 265, this issue.